TITI LIVII HISTORIÆ

LIBRI TRES PRIORES,

CUM ANNOTATIONIBUS

PROBATISSIMIS ET UTILISSIMIS,

EX

OMNIBUS PRIORIBUS COMMENTATORIBUS

ACCURATE SELECTIS ET ANGLICE REDDITIS;

QUIBUS ET NONNULLÆ SUÆ SUNT ADJECTÆ.

A JACOBO PRENDEVILLE,
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LOCI OMNES DIFFICILES EXPLICANTUR; ET TEXTUS MAXIME EMENDATUS DATUR.

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LIFE OF LIVY.

Titus Livius, the great author of the Roman History, which the unanimous consent of all ages has judged to be one of the noblest productions of human genius, was born at Patavium, now Padua, in Italy, in the 694th year of Rome, 58 years before the birth of Christ. Few details of his life and actions have been preserved to us from the ravages of time; but it is known that his family at that period held a dignified station among the high nobility of Rome, when that nobility was in the fulness of their pride, and Rome in the zenith of her glory. Besides his history, it is said by Seneca, that he composed another work consisting of moral and philosophical dialogues, together with some admirable essays on rhetoric for the use of his son, which were all worthy of his great name, but which have since perished in the wreck, that time, barbarism, and superstition, have made of some of the noblest fabrics of the human mind. That he might have a better opportunity of consulting the records of the times, and acquiring other facilities of information necessary for so laborious and momentous an undertaking, he fixed his residence at Rome. And we may form a just estimate of the great esteem and admiration in which he was held, by these facts, that Augustus, in the same spirit that induced Philip of Macedon to place his son Alexander the Great under the instruction and care of Aristotle, appointed him tutor to his grandson Claudius, afterwards emperor, as the fittest person among the bright array of literary names, that encircled his court, to enlighten the mind, cultivate the taste, and form the

morals of one, who was destined to be a ruler of the world; and that a Spanish prince, actuated by the great celebrity of his name, came from Cadiz, (then considered the utmost boundary of the globe,) for the mere purpose of seeing him; and, when he had gratified his curiosity, returned home contented. For some time he prosecuted his work, of which, as they were finished, he read parts before Augustus, Mæcenas, and the greatest men of the empire, and of that age. But distracted and wearied with the political tumults, factious cabals, and court intrigues, that at that time ruffled the public peace, disorganized society, poisoned social intercourse, and withered private happiness, he withdrew from Rome, the great theatre of agitation, and sought tranquillity and retirement in the mild climate and delightful country of Naples. There, unmolested and at ease, he finished his immortal work, comprising, in one hundred and forty-two books, the history, or annals, (as he* calls them,) of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the death of Drusus, comprehending a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, and ending nine years before the birth of Christ.

His labours now ended, and having performed more exalted and more lasting services to his country than any other citizen, who ennobled the character, or promoted the interests of Rome, he returned to close the calm evening of his life in his native country, where he died A. D. 17, at the age of seventy-five years. It appears that he divided his history into portions called *decades*, comprising in each ten books, from his having prefixed prefatory observations to each. Of one hundred and forty-two books, thirty-five only have come down entire to us. However the contents of the whole, under the name of epitomes, have been preserved, with the exception of the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth books, compiled according to some, (but without any good authority for the supposition,) by Livy himself; according to others, with as little grounds of probability, by Lucius Florus, author of a portion of Roman history.

* Lib. 43. c. 13.

The first *decade* is extant, commencing with the history of Rome, and embracing a period of four hundred and sixty years; the second, which comprehended a period of only seventy-five years, and the principal occurrences of which were the first Punic war, is lost; the third, containing a minute and eloquent detail of the second Punic war, the longest, and most hazardous, as he says, in which the fortunes of the state were ever committed, is extant; the fourth, embracing a space of twenty-three years only, from the variety and importance of the events which are recorded, and containing an account of the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic against Antiochus, is also extant; of the fifth, only the first five books are preserved, and these very imperfect. They give an account of the war with Perseus, King of Macedon, whose kingdom, after various vicissitudes of defeat and success, is at length reduced to a Roman province; of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years; and of the corruption, cruelty, and extortion of several Roman governors in the provinces, and their subsequent punishment. The rest, except the epitomes, are all lost.

Livy employed forty-five books in the history of six centuries; but so important, so various, and numerous, were the events, which the subsequent period presented to him, that he bestowed more than double the number of books on the occurrences of about one hundred and twenty years. But, unfortunately, at a most interesting crisis, when curiosity had been raised to the highest pitch of excitement, when the rich and minute narration of the destinies of the mightiest empire, that human arms or human wisdom ever erected, was about to be wound up, ruin set her iron hand upon the work. The materials, which he had ready for use at this epoch, were more numerous and certain than at any former period. He could not only consult the ordinary annals of the times, and the records of the senate, but could draw from the ample fountains of his own knowledge, and of that of his illustrious cotemporaries, who mixed and figured in the occurrences of those important and stormy times. Besides, he could find easy access to the Memoirs

of Sylla, Cæsar, Labienus, Pollio, Augustus, and many others, which were then extant, and traced from their remotest origin, with nice and scrutinizing accuracy, the progress of things through all their wide and varied diversions. This irreparable loss has been deplored by the world.

I own, says Bolingbroke, that I should be glad to exchange what we have of this history, for what we have not. The authors, from which he drew his information, were Fabius Pictor, the oldest of the Roman writers, Macer Licinius, and Q. Tubero, among the Latins; and Polybius among the Greeks. He also made frequent mention of *libri lintei*. Asinius Pollio, a writer of the Augustan age, says that in his writings there was what he calls *Patavinitas*. What the precise meaning of this expression is has not been well ascertained; but most persons imagine that it means a provincial and impure peculiarity of diction. However, Pollio appears to stand alone in his opinion. The objections made to his frequent introduction of long speeches, a charge to which all the writers of antiquity are as liable as Livy, of prodigies and superstitious stories, which were unavoidable in the history of a superstitious and credulous people, and his partiality to his countrymen, particularly Scipio Africanus, and Pompey, are so futile, that it is unnecessary to dwell on the subject. All posterity have subscribed to the opinion of Quinctilian, who thus pronounces on him: " . . . . quum in narrando miræ jucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in concionibus, supra quàm enarrari potest, eloquentem."—B. 10. c. 1.

T. LIVII PRÆFATIO.

Facturusne operæ pretium sim[2], si à primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satìs scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim: quippe qui[3], quum veterem, tum vulgatam esse rem, videam; dum novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos, credunt. Utcunque erit[4], juvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriæ principis terrarum populi pro virili[5] parte et ipsum consuluisse[6]; et, si in tantâ scriptorum turbâ mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum, meo qui nomini officient[7], me consoler. Res est præterea et immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum[8] annum repetatur; et quæ, ab exiguis profecta initiis, eò creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret suâ; et legentium plerisque, haud dubito, quin primæ origines proximaque originibus minus præbitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad hæc nova, quibus jam pridem prævalentis populi vires se ipsæ conficiunt. Ego contrà hoc quoque laboris præmium petam, ut me conspectu malorum, quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certè dum prisca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere à vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quæ ante conditam condendamve[9] urbem, poëticis magìs decora fabulis[10] quàm incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet[11] consecrare origines suas, et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem

potissimùm ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo, quàm imperium patiuntur. Sed hæc et his similia, utcunque animadversa aut existimata[12] erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine. Ad illa mihi pro se[13] quisque acriter intendat animum, quæ vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus domi militiæque, et partum et auctum imperium sit; labante deinde paullatim disciplinâ, velut desidentes[14], primò mores sequatur animo; deinde, ut magìs magìsque lapsi sint; tum, ut ire cœperint præcipites; donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia[15] pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta[16] in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias; inde, fœdum exitu, quod vites. Ceterùm aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam civitatem[17] tam seræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit. Adeò, quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat[18]. Nuper divitiæ avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexêre. Sed querelæ, ne tum quidem gratæ futuræ, quum forsitan et necessariæ erunt, ab initio certè tantæ ordiendæ rei absint. Cum bonis potiùs ominibus votisque ac precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poëtis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentiùs inciperemus, ut orsis[19] tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

NOTES TO PREFACE.

[1] The dignity and modesty of this preface, says Walker, is quite in unison with the character which Horace (Art. Poet.) gives of a good writer: *Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem, cogitat.*

[2] *Facturusne operæ pretium sim.*] The best editions and MSS. read, *facturusne sim operæ pretium,* by which the hiatus of the present reading would be avoided; but the authority of Quinctilian, who asserts that Livy commences with part of an hexameter line, is sufficient to decide that this reading should not be introduced into the text, and considered genuine.

[3] *Quippe qui.*] Livy says, that he is not certain whether he will obtain any reward for his labour in writing this history—whether its merits be such as to secure the approbation of the present age and posterity; and that, even if he were, he would not venture to say so, because it has been, from time immemorial, a practice with every new writer of history, to boast that "his" work must excel that of his predecessors, as the facts are to be detailed with more certainty and truth, and "their" unpolished and antiquated style of writing *(rudem vetustatem,)* excelled by the superior strength and elegance of the new production; and that, as the practice is so old *(veterem),* it has become vulgar and contemptible (*vulgatum*). *Vulgatus,* in Livy and Pliny, often has the same signification as *vilis*. In this way *facturus operæ pretium,* and *vulgatum,* are explained by Walker and others; but on reflection it appears very doubtful, whether the first does not mean, "to make it worth the 'reader's' trouble and perusal," and the second, "common or general," which is the usual signification of *vulgatus*.*

[4] *Utcunque erit.*] This refers to the first line. "However that shall be."

[5] *Pro virili parte.*] To the utmost of my power, like *pro me,* or κατ' ἐμαυτὸν, in Greek.

[6] *Et ipsum consuluisse.*] "That I also (as well as other writers) have provided for the recollection of a people that ruled the world;" *i. e.* have taken care that they should be recollected. *Me* is sometimes, as here, suppressed before *ipsum*.—So Virg. Ecl. I.:

> "Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et *ipsum*
> Ludere, quæ vellem, calamo permisit agresti."

* *Esse operæ pretium* is what is generally employed to signify "to be worth 'one's own' trouble."

[7] *Nomini officient.*] Shall be a bar to my celebrity.

[8] *Ut quæ supra septengentesimum.*] "As it is a subject that must be carried back beyond the seven hundredth year." There are two reasons why the subject is said to be one of immense labour; first, it must be carried back to the darkness of antiquity, where there can be but little light to guide a writer, and must embrace all the events that have taken place for seven hundred years; secondly, rising from small beginnings, when, in the early ages of the city, the facts of its history were neither numerous nor important, it has by degrees, according as the empire has become great, grown to such an extent, as to become unmanageable from the number and importance of the facts to be detailed. *Prævalentis*, "grown to an excess of power." Walker says, that the construction of the sentence is, *res est et immensi operis, ut quæ sup. sep. an. repet. et (immensi operis) ut quæ ab exiguis*, &c. But Crevier, I think more correctly, says, that either *et* before *immensi* is to be expunged, or that the arrangement is this: *res est et immensi operis (ut quæ sup. sep. an. rep., et ut quæ ab ex. pr. in. eò cr. ut jam mag. lab. suâ) et legentium plerisque*——. The *et* before *immensi operis* refers to the *et* before *legentium;* and thus the two clauses are connected. Livy mentions the difficulties and disadvantages he has to encounter in his undertaking. It is one of immense labour, for which he gives two reasons; and it is one, he is sure, in which his taste and feelings would not correspond with those of most of his readers; as they carelessly and impatiently hurry over the first periods of the history, that they may arrive at those late and interesting events, during the occurrence of which the state fell a victim to its own overwhelming power. But he, on the contrary, would dwell with more pleasure on those distant scenes; for then he would be relieved from the painful view of the evils to which the age he lived in was a witness; and also from an uneasy apprehension (*curæ*) of incurring, by the facts he should detail, the displeasure or hostility of any man or party of his time. *Præterea* refers to the first line, *facturusne*, &c.

[9] *Condendamve.*] "Or about to be built," *i. e.* before the time of Romulus.

[10] *Magis decora fabulis.*] "More worthy to embellish the fables of poets, than the pure records of history." So c. 42. *hunc ordinem vel pace decorum vel bello.*

[11] *Si cui populo licere oportet.*] "If any people ought to be allowed to represent their origin as sacred, and attribute it to the agency of the gods, the Romans are that people; for so great is the military glory they have acquired, that foreign nations allow as calmly, as they submit to their dominion, that they were descended from the god of war, whom, above all others, they represent as their own parent, and that of their founder Romulus."

[12] *Utcunque animadversa aut existimata.*] "However they

will be attended to, (whether diligently or carelessly,) or judged of, (whether as true or false)."

[13] *Ad illa m. pro se.*] "Let every one, to the utmost of his power, turn his thoughts to the following considerations:—What the mode of life was, and what the manners, of the people; by what sort of men, and by what measures in peace and war, their power was both established and extended;" *pro se* is the same as *pro suâ virili parte;* "mihi" is often introduced superfluously.

[14] *Velut desidentes.*] A metaphor borrowed from an old house which at first gives way or yields a little, then sinks more and more, until at last it tumbles headlong. *Desidentes* from *desido.*

[15] *Nec vitia nec remedia.*] Neither the vices, says Walker, by which the public liberty was lost, nor the absolute powers of the Cæsars, by which it was asserted that those vices would be remedied. But I do not think Livy limits his views to that.

[16] *Omnis te exempli documenta.*] "This is that which above all other things is salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you see instances of every kind of conduct put on open record; from these you can select for yourself and the state you belong to, whatever you would avoid, as being disgraceful in its effects." So Herodotus: Ὡς εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις τὰ ὅμοια καταλάβοι, πρὸς τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀποβλέποντες, εὖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐν ποσί.

[17] *Nec in quam civitatem.*] A Greek idiom for *nec ulla civitas in quam.* The Greeks often made the antecedent agree in case with the relative, and also put the relative in the same case with the antecedent: this is called *attraction* by the grammarians.—See B. 2. c. 47.—and c. 3. n. 45, of this book.

[18] *Divitiæ avaritiam.*] "Riches introduced avarice; (*i. e.* a thirst for riches) and abundant pleasures introduced a longing for pleasure, during a state of general luxury, and a blind love of running headlong to destruction and destroying every thing else." Such was the general corruption of the times, that even in the midst of pleasures, men, from their great thirst for them, seemed to want them. *Desiderium* is an uneasy longing after an absent good. Others connect the words thus:—*Desiderium pereundi perdendique omnia, per luxum et libidinem.*

[19] *Orsis.*] "To an undertaking of such labour."

T. LIVII PATAVINI
HISTORIARUM
LIBER PRIMUS.

EPITOME.

Adventus Æneæ in Italiam, et ejus res gestæ, referuntur. Ascanii regnum Albæ, et deinceps Silviorum. Numitoris filiâ, à Marte compressâ, nati Romulus et Remus. Amulius obtruncatus. Urbs à Romulo condita. Senatus lectus. Cum Sabinis bellatum. Opima spolia Jovi Feretrio lata. In curias populus divisus. Fidenates et Vejentes victi. Romulus consecratus. Numa Pompilius ritus sacrorum tradidit; Jano templum constituit; ejusque portam, pacatis omnibus circà populis, primus clausit. Cum Deâ Egeriâ sibi congressus nocturnos esse simulans, feroces populi animos ad religionem perpulit. Tullus Hostilius Albanos bello petiit. Post hæc trigeminorum pugna. Horatius absolutus. Metti Fuffetii supplicium; Alba diruta; Albani in civitatem recepti. Sabinis bellum indictum. Ad postremum fulmine Tullus absumptus. Ancus Martius ceremonias, à Numâ institutas, renovavit. Latinis victis et ad civitatem adscitis montem Aventinum assignavit. Politorium, urbem Latinorum, bello repetitam, quam prisci Latini occupaverant, diruit. Pontem sublicium in Tiberim fecit. Janiculum collem urbi addidit; fines imperii protulit. Ostiam condidit. Regnavit annos viginti quatuor. Eo regnante Lucumo, Damarati Corinthii filius, à Tarquiniis, Etruriæ civitate, Romam venit; et, in amicitiam Anci receptus, Tarquinii nomen ferre cæpit; et post mortem Anci regnum excepit. Centum additis, Patrum numerum auxit. Latinos subegit; circum designavit; ludos edidit. Sa-

binorum bello petitus equitum centurias ampliavit. Tentandæ scientiæ causâ Atti Navii auguris, consuluisse fertur, an id, de quo cogitaret, effici posset; quod quum ille fieri posse respondisset, jussisse eum novaculâ cotem præcidere; idque protinus ab Atto factum. Sabinos præterea acie vicit; urbem muro circumdedit; cloacas fecit. Occisus est ab Anci filiis, quum regnasset annos triginta octo. Successit ei Ser. Tullius, natus ex captivâ nobili Corniculanâ; cui puero, adhuc in cunis posito, caput arsisse traditum est. Vejentes atque Etruscos prælio fudit. Censum primus egit. Lustrum condidit, quo civium capita censa octoginta millia esse dicuntur. Classes centuriasque descripsit. Pomœrium protulit. Colles urbi, Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinumque adjecit. Templum Dianæ cum Latinis in Aventino fecit. Interfectus est à L. Tarquinio, Prisci filio, consilio filiæ suæ Tulliæ, quum regnasset annos quadraginta quatuor. Post hunc L. Tarquinius Superbus, neque Patrum, neque populi jussu, regnum invasit: quo die scelerata Tullia per patris jacentis corpus carpentum egit. Armatos circa se ad custodiam corporis sui habuit. Turnum Herdonium fraude interemit. Bellum cum Volscis gessit; et ex eorum prædâ templum Jovi in Capitolio fecit. Terminus et Juventas non addixere: quorum aræ moveri non potuerunt. Filii Sex. Tarquinii dolo Gabios in potestatem suam redegit. Hujus filiis Delphos profectis, et consulentibus, quis eorum regnaturus esset Romæ, dictum est, eum regnaturum, qui primus matrem osculatus esset. Quod responsum quum ipsi aliter interpretarentur, Junius Brutus, qui cum iis profectus erat, prolapsum se simulavit et terram osculatus est, idque factum ejus eventus rei comprobavit. Nam quum, impotenter se gerendo, Tarquinius Superbus omnes in odium sui adduxisset; ad ultimum, propter expugnatam nocturnâ vi à Sexto filio ejus Lucretiæ pudicitiam (quæ, vocato patre ad se Tricipitino et viro Collatino, obtestata ne inulta mors ejus esset, cultro se interemit), Bruti operâ maximè expulsus est, quum regnasset annos viginti quinque. Tunc consules primùm creati sunt L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

Jam primum omnium satìs constat, Trojâ captâ, in ceteros sævitum esse[20] Trojanos; duobus, Æneâ[21] Antenoreque, et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis[22] reddendæque Helenæ semper auctores fuerant, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis[23] Antenorem cum multitudine Henetûm[24], qui, seditione ex Paphlagoniâ pulsi, et sedes et ducem, rege Pylæmene ad Trojam amisso, quærebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum: Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis, Henetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras: et in quem primùm egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur, pagoque inde Trojano nomen est[25]; gens universa Veneti appellati. Ænean, ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora initia rerum[26] ducentibus fatis, primò in Macedoniam venisse[27]; inde in Siciliam, quærentem sedes, delatum; ab Siciliâ classe[28] Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Trojæ et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso propè errore nihil[29], præter arma et naves, superesset, quum prædam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est: alii prælio victum Latinum pacem cum Æneâ, deinde affinitatem, junxisse tradunt[30]: alii, cùm instructæ acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores[31], ducemque advenarum evocâsse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde, aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quærentes in agrum Laurentem exissent? postquam audierit multitudinem Trojanos esse; ducem Ænean, filium Anchisæ et Veneris; crematâ patriâ, et domo profugos, sedem condendæque urbi locum quærere; et nobilitatem admiratum[32] gentis virique, et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dexterâ datâ fidem futuræ amicitiæ sanxisse. Inde fœdus ictum[33] inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Ænean apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud Penates deos domesticum publico adjunxisse fœdus, filiâ Æneæ in matrimonium datâ: ea res utique Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabili certâque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt. Æneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirps quoque

virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Æneæ fuerat, prælatum sibi advenam ægrè patiens, simul Æneæ Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies læta ex eo certamine abiit; victi Rutuli; victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique, diffisi rebus, ad florentes Etruscorum opes, Mezentiumque eorum regem, confugiunt; qui, Cære[34] opulento tum[35] oppido imperitans, jam inde ab initio minimè lætus novæ origine urbis, et tum nimio plus, quàm satìs tutum[36] esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Æneas, adversùs tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, ne sub eodem jure[37] solùm, sed etiam nomine, omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide erga regem Ænean cessere; fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magìs duorum populorum, Æneas, quanquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solùm, sed mare etiam per totam Italiæ longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, famâ nominis sui implêsset, tamen, quum mœnibus[38] bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde prælium[39] Latinis Æneæ etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit; situs est[40], quemcunque eum dici jus fasque est[41], super Numicium flumen[42]. Jovem Indigetem[43] appellant.

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Æneæ filius erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem ætatem incolume mansit: tantisper tutelâ muliebri[44] (tanta indoles in Laviniâ erat) res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud nihil ambigam[45], (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?) hiccine fuerit Ascanius, an major quàm hic, Creüsâ matre Ilio incolumi natus, comesque inde paternæ fugæ, quem Julum eundem Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicunque et quâcunque matre genitus, (certè natum Æneâ constat) abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem jam (ut tum res erant[46]) atque opulentam urbem matri, seu novercæ, reliquit: novam ipse aliam

sub Albano monte[47] condidit, quæ, ab situ porrectæ in dorso[48] urbis, Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam[49] triginta ferme interfuere anni; tantum tamen opes creverant, maximè fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Æneæ, nec deinde, inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique, aut ulli alii accolæ, ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem[50] nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Sylvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in sylvis natus. Is Æneam Sylvium creat; is deinde Latinum Sylvium. Ab eo coloniæ[51] aliquot deductæ, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit Sylviis postea omnibus cognomen[52] qui Albæ regnârunt. Latino Alba ortus, Albâ Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus; qui, in trajectu Albulæ amnis submersus, celebre ad posteros nomen[53] flumini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius; post Agrippam Romulus Sylvius, à patre accepto imperio, regnat. Aventino, fulmine ipse ictus, regnum per manus[54] tradidit: is, sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc est pars Romanæ urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat: is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat. Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Sylviæ gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit, quàm voluntas patris aut verecundia ætatis[55]. Pulso fratre, Amulius regnat: addit sceleri scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interimit: fratris filiæ Rheæ Sylviæ per speciem honoris[56], quum Vestalem[57] eam legisset, perpetuâ virginitate spem partûs adimit.

IV. Sed debebatur[58], ut opinor, fatis tantæ origo urbis, maximique secundùm deorum opes[59] imperii principium. Vi compressa[60] Vestalis, quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata[61], seu quia deus auctor culpæ honestior erat, Martem incertæ stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii, nec homines, aut ipsam, aut stirpem à crudelitate regiâ vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur: pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quâdam divinitùs[62] super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis, nec adiri usquam ad justi cursum poterat amnis; et posse, quamvis languidâ, mergi aquâ[63] infantes spem ferentibus dabat; ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proximâ alluvie[64], ubi nunc

ficus Ruminalis[65] est (Romularem vocatam ferunt) pueros exponunt. Vastæ tum in iis locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, quum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circà sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse: eam summissas infantibus adeò mitem præbuisse mammas, ut linguâ lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt: ab eo ad stabula Laurentiæ uxori educandos latos. Sunt qui Laurentiam, vulgato corpore[66], lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulæ[67] ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti[68], itáque educati, quum primùm adolevit ætas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes[69], venando peragrare circà saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantùm subsistere[70], sed in latrones, prædâ onustos, impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere; et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria[71] ac jocos celebrare.

V. Jam tum in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc[72] fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et à Palanteo urbe Arcadicâ Pallantium, dein Palatium, montem appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere[73] Arcadum multis antè tempestatibus tenuerat loca, sollenne allatum ex Arcadiâ instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per lusum atque lasciviam currerent: quem Romani deinde vocârunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro[74], quum sollenne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram prædæ amissæ latrones, quum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse; captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro[75] accusantes. Crimini maximè dabant[76], in Numitoris agros ab his impetum fieri: inde eos, collectâ juvenum manu, hostilem in modum prædas agere: sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Jam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos jussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem, aut per necessitatem, aperiri noluerat; necessitas prior venit: ita, metu subactus, Romulo rem aperit. Fortè et Numitori, quum in custodiâ Remum haberet, audîssetque geminos esse fratres, comparando[77] et ætatem eorum et ipsam minimè servilem indolem, tetigerat animum me-

moria nepotum; sciscitandoque eódem pervenit[78], ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur[79]. Romulus, non cum globo juvenum, (nec enim erat ad vim apertam par) sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit; et à domo[80] Numitoris aliâ comparatâ manu adjuvat Remus: ita regem obtruncant.

VI. Numitor, inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, quum pubem Albanam in Arcem præsidio armisque obtinendam avocasset[81], posteaquam juvenes, perpetratâ cæde, pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplò advocato concilio, scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, cædem deinceps tyranni, seque ejus auctorem ostendit. Juvenes, per mediam concionem agmine ingressi[82], quum avum regem salutâssent, secuta ex omni[83] multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effecit. Ita Numitori Albanâ permissâ re, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit, in iis locis, ubi expositi, ubique educati erant, urbis condendæ; et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque. Ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facilè spem facerent[84], parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium, præ eâ urbe, quæ conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido; atque inde fœdum certamen coortum à satìs miti principio[85], (quoniam gemini essent, nec ætatis verecundia discrimen facere posset,) ut Dii, quorum tutelæ ea loca essent[86], auguriis legerent, qui nomen novæ urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret. Palatium[87] Romulus, Remus Aventinum, ad inaugurandum templa[88] capiunt. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures; jamque, nunciato augurio, quum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat: tempore illi præcepto[89], at hi numero avium, regnum trahebant. Inde, cum altercatione congressi, certamine irarum ad cædem vertuntur: ibi in turbâ ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est, ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, *Sic deinde*[90], *quicunque alius transiliet mœnia mea*) interfectum.

VII. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs[91] conditoris nomine appellata. Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; sacra diis aliis Albano ritu; Græco, Herculi[92], ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mirâ specie abegisse memorant; ac prope Tiberim fluvium, quà præ se armentum agens nando trajecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo læto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum viâ procubuisse. Ibi quum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor, accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, quum avertere eam prædam vellet, (quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quærentem dominum eò deductura erant,) aversos[93] boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules, ad primam auroram somno excitus, quum gregem perlustrâsset oculis, et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si fortè eò vestigia ferrent; quæ ubi omnia foràs versa vidit, nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi, ex loco infesto agere porrò[94] armentum occepit. Inde quum actæ boves quædam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugîssent, reddita inclusarum ex speluncâ boum vox Herculem convertit; quem quum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clavâ, fidem[95] pastorum nequicquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate[96] magìs quàm imperio, regebat loca; venerabilis vir miraculo literarum[97], rei novæ inter rudes artium homines; venerabilior divinitate creditâ Carmentæ[98] matris, quam fatiloquam, ante Sibyllæ in Italiam adventum, miratæ hæ gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestæ reum cædis excitus, postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantùm ampliorem augustioremque humanâ intuens, rogitat, qui vir esset? Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, "Jove "nate, Hercules, salve," inquit, "te mihi mater, veridica "interpres deûm, aucturum cœlestium numerum cecinit; "tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim[99] "in terris gens Maximam vocet, tuoque ritu colat."

Dextrâ Hercules datâ, "accipere se omen, impleturumque fata, arâ conditâ atque dicatâ," ait[1]. Ibi tum primùm, bove eximiâ[2] captâ de grege, sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis[3] ac Pinariis, quæ tum familiæ maximè inclytæ ea loca incolebant, factum. Fortè ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus præstò essent, iisque exta apponerentur; Pinarii, extis adesis, ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollennium vescerentur. Potitii, ab Evandro edocti, antistites[4] sacri ejus per multas ætates fuerunt: donec, tradito servis[5] publicis sollenni familiæ ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Hæc tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, jam tum immortalitatis virtute partæ, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

VIII. Rebus divinis ritè perpetratis, vocatâque ad concilium multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi unius corpus nullâ re, præterquam legibus, poterat, jura dedit[6]; quæ ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maximè lictoribus[7] duodecim sumptis, fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quæ augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud pœnitet eorum sententiæ esse, quibus et apparitores hoc genus[8] ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis[9], unde toga prætexta, sumpta est, numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos, quòd, ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege, singulos singuli populi lictores dederint. Crescebat interim urbs, munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, quum in spem magìs futuræ multitudinis, quàm ad id quod tum hominum[10] erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana magnitudo esset, adjiciendæ multitudinis causâ, vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui, obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem, natam è terrâ sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus *inter duos lucos* est, Asylum aperit[11]. Eò ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine liber an servus esset[12], avida novarum rerum perfugit; idque primum ad cœptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Quum jam virium haud pœniteret, consilium deinde viribus[13] parat. Centum

creat senatores[14], sive quia is numerus satìs erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui ciere patres[15] possent. Patres certè ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum, appellati.

IX. Jam res Romana adeò erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatium bello par esset; sed, penuriâ mulierum[16], hominis ætatem duratura magnitudo erat; quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis[17], nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio Patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent. "Urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo "nasci: deinde, quà[18] sua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas "opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satìs scire ori"gini Romanæ et deos adfuisse, et non defuturam vir"tutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus "sanguinem et genus miscere." Nusquam benignè legatio audita est: adeò simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, "Ecquod feminis quo"que asylum aperuissent? id enim demum compar con"nubium fore[19]." Ægrè id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubiè ad vim spectare res cœpit; cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, ægritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industriâ parat, Neptuno Equestri solennes[20]: Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant, aut poterant, concelebrant[21], ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales[22] convenere, studio etiam videndæ novæ urbis; maximè proximi quique, Cæninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo, cum liberis ac conjugibus, venit: invitati hospitaliter per domos, quum situm mœniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditæque eò mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis; signoque dato juventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit; magna pars fortè, ut in quem quæque inciderat, raptæ; quasdam formâ excellente primoribus Patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam, longè ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem, à globo Talassii cujusdam[23] raptam ferunt; multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam

ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum: inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam[24]. Turbato per metum ludicro, mœsti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii fœdus, deumque invocantes, cujus ad solenne ludosque, per fas ac fidem decepti[25], venissent; nec raptis aut spes de se melior, aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circuibat, dicebatque "patrum id superbiâ factum, qui connubium finitimis "negâssent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate "fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et, quo nihil carius "humano generi sit, liberûm fore. Mollirent modò "iras; et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. "Sæpe ex injuriâ postmodum gratiam ortam: eóque "melioribus usuras viris[26], quòd adnisurus pro se quisque "sit, ut, quum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentum "etiam patriæque expleant desiderium." Accedebant blanditiæ virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore; quæ maximè ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

X. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maximè sordidâ veste lacrymisque et querelis civitates concitabant; nec domi tantùm indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum; et legationes eò, quòd maximum Tatii nomen in his regionibus erat, conveniebant[27]. Cæninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos ejus injuriæ pars[28] pertinebat. Lentè agere iis Tatius Sabinique visi sunt. Ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates, præ ardore[29] irâque Cæninensium, satìs se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Cæninum[30] in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effusè vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet, vanam sine viribus iram esse: exercitum fundit fugatque: fusum persequitur: regem in prælio obtruncat et spoliat: duce hostium occiso, urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, cùm factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium cæsi suspensa fabricato ad id aptè ferculo gerens, in Capitolium ascendit: ibique ea quum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset,

simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines, cognomenque addidit deo. "Jupiter Feretri[31]," inquit, "hæc "tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque "iis regionibus, quas modò animo metatus sum, dedico, "sedem opimis[32] spoliis, quæ, regibus ducibusque hostium "cæsis, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent." Hæc templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romæ sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, quâ laturos ea spolia[33] posteros nuncupavit; nec, multitudine compotum, ejus doni vulgari laudem[34]; bina postea, inter tot annos[35], tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia: adeò rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem[36] hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit; raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta[37] palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes: oppidum captum: duplicique victoriâ ovantem Romulum Hersilia conjux, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam, et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere concordiâ posse. Facilè impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus, bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam[38], quòd alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utróque coloniæ missæ. Plures inventi, qui, propter ubertatem terræ, in Crustuminum nomina darent[39]; et Romam inde[40] frequenter migratum est, à parentibus maximè ac propinquis raptarum. Novissimum ab Sabinis[41] bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est; nec ostenderunt[42] bellum priùs, quàm intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpejus Romanæ præerat arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam fortè ea tum sacris extra mœnia petitum ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potiùs arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causâ, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset[43]. Additur fabulæ[44], (quòd vulgò Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio lævo, gemmatosque magnâ specie annulos habuerint,) pepigisse[45] eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent: eò scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, qui eam, ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus

esset, directò[46] arma petîsse dicant; et, fraude visam agere, suâ ipsam peremptam mercede.

XII. Tenuere tamen[47] arcem Sabini; atque inde postero die, quum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est[48], complêsset, non priùs descenderunt in æquum, quàm, irâ et cupiditate recuperandæ arcis stimulante animos, in adversum Romani subiere[49]. Principes utrinque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis Mettus Curtius, ab Romanis Hostus Hostilius[50]. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audaciâ sustinebat. Ut Hostus cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies; fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus, et ipse turbâ fugientium actus, arma ad cœlum tollens, "Jupiter, tuis," inquit, "jussus avibus hìc in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta "jeci. Arcem jam, scelere emptam[51], Sabini habent. Inde "huc armati, superatâ mediâ valle, tendunt. At tu, pater "deûm hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes; deme "terrorem Romanis, fugamque fœdam siste. Hìc ego "tibi templum Statori[51*] Jovi, quod monumentum sit pos-"teris tuâ præsenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo." Hæc precatus, veluti si sensisset auditas preces, "Hinc," inquit, "Romani, Jupiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam jubet." Restitere Romani, tanquam cœlesti voce jussi; ipse ad primores[52] Romulus provolat. Mettus Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est[53]; nec procul jam à portâ Palatii erat, clamitans, "Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam "sciunt longè aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare "cum viris." In eum, hæc gloriantem, cum globo ferocissimorum juvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum fortè Mettus pugnabat: eò pelli facilius[54] fuit. Pulsum Romani persequuntur; et alia Romana acies, audaciâ regis accensa, fundit Sabinos. Mettus in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium trepidante equo[55], conjecit; adverteratque[56] ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, annuentibus ac vocantibus suis, favore[57] multorum addito animo, evadit. Romani Sabinique in mediâ convalle duorum montium redintegrant prælium; sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII. Tum Sabinæ mulieres, quarum ex injuriâ bellum ortum[58] erat, crinibus passis scissâque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore[59], ausæ se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto, dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, "ne se sanguine "nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio "macularent partus suos[60], nepotum illi, liberûm hi pro-"geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos[61], si connubii piget, "in nos vertite iras: nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac "cædium viris ac parentibus sumus. Meliùs peribimus, "quàm sine alteris vestrûm viduæ aut orbæ[62] vivemus." Movet res tum multitudinem, tum duces. Silentium et repentina fit quies. Inde ad fœdus faciendum duces prodeunt; nec pacem modò, sed et civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt; regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminatâ urbe, ut Sabinis tamen[63] aliquid daretur, Quirites à Curibus appellati. Monumentum ejus pugnæ, ubi primùm ex profundâ emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellârunt[64]. Ex bello tam tristi læta repentè pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus, et ante omnes Romulo ipsi, fecit. Itaque, quum populum in curias triginta[65] divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit[66]. Id non traditur[67], quum haud dubiè aliquanto numerus major hoc mulierum fuerit, ætate, an dignitatibus suis virorumve, an sorte, lectæ sint, quæ nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriæ tres equitum conscriptæ sunt; Ramnenses[68], ab Romulo, ab Tito Tatio Tatienses, appellati. Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modò commune, sed concors etiam, regnum duobus regibus fuit.

XIV. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium pulsant; quumque Laurentes jure gentium agerent[69], apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum pœnam in se vertit. Nam Lavinii, quum ad sollenne sacrificium eò venisset, concursu facto, interficitur. Eam rem minùs ægrè, quàm dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem[70] regni, seu quia haud injuriâ cæsum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriæ[71] regisque cædes, fœdus inter Romam Lavini-

umque urbes renovatum est. Et cum his[71]* quidem insperata pax erat. Aliud multo propius, atque in ipsis propè portis, bellum ortum. Fidenates, nimis vicinas prope se[72] convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere[73]. Juventute armatâ immissâ, vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est[74]. Inde ad lævam versi, quia dextrâ Tiberis arcebat[75], cum magnâ trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens, ex agris in urbem illatus, pro nuncio fuit. Excitus Romulus (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat) exercitum educit. Castra à Fidenis mille passuum[76] locat. Ibi modico præsidio relicto, egressus omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circà densa ob sita virgulta obscuris[77] subsidere jussit. Cum parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quærebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnæ, adequitando ipsis propè portis[78], hostem excivit; fugæ quoque, quæ simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minùs mirabilem dedit; et quum, velut inter pugnæ fugæque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repentè portis effusi hostes, impulsâ Romanâ acie, studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subitò exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem[79]. Addunt pavorem mota è castris signa eorum, qui in præsidio relicti fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates, priùs penè quàm Romulus, quique cum eo equis ierant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusiùs, (quippe vera fuga) qui simulantes paullo ante secuti erant[80], oppidum repetebant; non tamen eripuere se hosti. Hærens in terga Romanus, priùs quàm fores portarum objicerentur, velut agmine uno irrumpit[81].

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Vejentium animi[82], et consanguinitate, (nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt) et quòd ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt, populabundi magìs, quàm justi more belli[83]. Itaque, non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris prædam portantes, Vejos rediere. Romanus contrà, postquam hostem in

agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimæ [84] instructus intentusque, Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere, et ad urbem accessurum Vejentes audivere, obviàm egressi, ut potiùs acie decernerent, quàm inclusi de tectis mœnibusque dimicarent. Ibi, viribus nullâ arte adjutis [85], tantùm veterani robore exercitûs rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad mœnia hostes, urbe validâ muris ac situ ipso munitâ abstinuit. Agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magìs, quàm prædæ, studio. Eâque clade haud minùs quàm adversâ pugnâ subacti Vejentes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte mulctatis [86], in centum ānnos induciæ datæ. Hæc ferme, Romulo regnante, domi militiæque gesta [87]; quorum nihil absonum fidei divinæ originis [88], divinitatisque post mortem creditæ, fuit; non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendæ urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandæ; ab illo enim profectu viribus datis [89] tantùm valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit, quàm Patribus; longè ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres [90] appellavit, non in bello solùm, sed etiam in pace, habuit.

XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus [91], quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Capræ paludem haberet, subitò coorta tempestas, cum magno fragore tonitribusque, tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus concioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat Patribus [92], qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procellâ, tamen velut orbitatis [93] metu icta, mœstum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, à paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanæ, salvere universi Romulum jubent [94]; pacem precibus exposcunt [95], uti volens propitius [96] suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos [97], qui discerptum regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim hæc quoque, sed perobscura, fama. Illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor præsens [98] nobilitavit.

Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Julius, sollicitâ civitate desiderio regis et infensâ Patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnæ rei auctor[99], in concionem prodit. "Romulus," inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis hujus, primâ hodiernâ luce cœlo "repentè delapsus, se mihi obvium dedit. Quum, per- "fusus horrore venerabundusque, adstitissem, petens "precibus, ut contrà intueri fas esset[1], *abi, nuncia*, in- "quit, *Romani, Cœlestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput "orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant; "sciantque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas "armis Romanis resistere posse.* Hæc," inquit, "locu- "tus, sublimis abiit." Mirum, quantum illi viro nunci- anti hæc fidei fuerit[2]; quámque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque, factâ fide immortalitatis, lenitum sit.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat; necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat[3]; factionibus inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab suâ parte non erat regnatum, in societate æquâ[4] possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant. Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant[5], libertatis dulcedine nondum expertâ. Timor deinde Patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circà civitatum irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur; et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat; et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum Patres[6], decem decuriis[7] factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summæ rerum præessent, consociant; decem imperitabant; unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium[8], ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, *interregnum* appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos: nec ultrà, nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri[9]. Quum sensissent ea moveri Patres, offerendum ultro rati, quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt[10], summâ

potestate populo permissâ, ut non plus darent juris, quàm detinerent; decreverunt enim, ut, cùm populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores fierent[11]; hodieque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus[12], vi ademptâ; priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum Patres auctores fiunt[13]. Tum interrex, concione advocatâ, "Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit[14]," inquit, "Quirites, regem create; ita Patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, crearitis, auctores fient." Adeò id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modò sciscerent juberentque, ut senatus decerneret, qui Romæ regnaret.

XVIII. Inclyta justitia religioque eâ tempestate Numæ Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir, ut in illâ quisquam ætate esse poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrinæ ejus, quia non exstat alius, falsò Samium Pythagoram edunt; quem, Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, centum ampliùs post annos[15], in ultimâ Italiæ orâ, circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona, juvenum æmulantium studia[16] cœtus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem ætatis fuisset, quæ fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguæ commercio, quenquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset[17]? quove præsidio unus per tot gentes, dissonas sermone moribusque, pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio[18] temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magìs, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quàm disciplinâ tetricâ ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numæ, Patres Romani, quanquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur, tamen, neque se quisquam, nec factionis suæ alium, nec denique Patrum aut civium quenquam, præferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numæ Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus auguratò urbe condendâ regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli jussit. Inde, ab augure (cui deinde, honoris ergô, publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit) deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato[19], sedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo

aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde, ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regiones[20] ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, lævas ad septentrionem esse dixit. Signum contra[21], quò longissimè conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit. Tum, lituo in lævam manum translato, dextrâ in caput Numæ impositâ, precatus est ita: "Jupiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, "cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romæ esse, uti[22] tu signa "nobis certa adclarâssis inter eos fines, quos feci." Tum peregit[23] verbis auspicia, quæ mitti vellet; quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

XIX. Qui, regno ita potitus, urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, jure eam legibusque[24] ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus quum inter bella assuescere videret non posse, quippe efferatos militiâ, animos[25], mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum[26], indicem pacis bellique, fecit: apertus, ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus, pacatos circà omnes populos, significaret. Bis deinde post Numæ regnum clausus fuit; semel, T. Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iterum, quod nostræ ætati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum[27], ab imperatore Cæsare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partâ. Clauso eo, quum omnium circà finitimorum societate ac fœderibus junxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarentur otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis seculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum deâ Egeriâ congressus nocturnos esse; ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere; sacerdotes suos cuique deorum præficere. Atque omnium primum, ad cursum lunæ[28], in duodecim menses describit annum; quem (quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe), intercalaribus mensibus interponendis, ita dispensavit, ut, quarto et vigesimo anno, ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent, plenis annorum

omnium spatiis, dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quanquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maximè, quæ nunc ad Dialem flaminem[29] pertinent. Sed, quia in civitate bellicosâ plures Romuli quàm Numæ similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiæ vicis[30] desererentur, flaminem Jovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regiâ sellâ adornavit. Huic duos flamines adjecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino[31]; virginesque Vestæ[32] legit, Albâ oriundum sacerdotium, et genti conditoris haud alienum. His, ut assiduæ templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisque ceremoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicæque pictæ insigne dedit, et super tunicam æneum pectori tegumen; cœlestiaque arma, quæ ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solennique saltatu, jussit. Pontificem deinde Numam[33] Marcium, Marci filium, ex Patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque[34] attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quæ templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra Pontificis scitis subjecit, ut esset, quò consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini juris, negligendo patrios ritus, peregrinosque adsciscendo, turbaretur; nec cœlestes modò ceremonias, sed justa quoque funebria placandosque Manes, ut idem Pontifex edoceret; quæque prodigia, fulminibus aliove quo visu missa, susciperentur atque curarentur[35]. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis, Jovi Elicio ara in Aventino dicavit; deumque consuluit[36] auguriis, quæ suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque[37] multitudine omni à vi et armis conversâ, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum assidua insidens cura, quum interesse rebus humanis cœleste Numen videretur, eâ pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac pœnarum metu[38], civitatem regerent; et, quum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici

exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi[39] etiam populi, qui antè castra, non urbem, positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem, totam in cultum versam deorum, violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ; quò quia se persæpe Numa sine arbitris, velut ad congressum deæ, inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quòd earum ibi concilia cum conjuge suâ Egeriâ essent. Et soli Fidei[40] sollenne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato[41] vehi jussit, manuque ad digitos usque involutâ rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque ejus etiam[42] in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quæ Argeos[43] pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis quàm regni. Ita duo deinceps reges[44], alius aliâ viâ, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos; Numa, tres et quadraginta. Tum valida, tum temperata[45] et belli et pacis artibus, erat civitas.

XXII. Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infimâ arce[46] clara pugna adversùs Sabinos fuerat, regem populus jussit. Patres auctores facti[47]. Hic non solùm proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam Romulo, fuit; tum ætas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus, undique materiam excitandi belli quærebat. Fortè evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano, prædas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albæ. Utrinque legati ferè sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus præceperat suis, ne quid priùs, quàm mandata, agerent; satìs sciebat negaturum Albanum; ita piè bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordiùs res acta. Excepti hospitio ab Tullo blandè ac benignè, comiter regis convivium celebrant[48]. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores[49], et neganti Albano bellum in trigesimum diem indixerant[50]. Hæc renunciant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi, omnium ignari, primùm purgando

terunt tempus: "Se invitos quidquam, quod minùs "placeat Tullo, dicturos: sed imperio subigi; res repe-"titum se venisse. Ni reddantur, bellum indicere jus-"sos." Ad hæc Tullus, "Nunciate," inquit, "regi "vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter "priùs populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus di-"miserit, ut in eum omnes expetant hujusce clades "belli[51]."

XXIII. Hæc nunciant domum Albani[52]. Et bellum utrinque summâ ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, propè inter parentes natosque, Trojanam utramque prolem, quum Lavinium ab Trojâ, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani, essent. Eventus tamen belli minùs miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quòd nec acie certatum est, et, tectis modò dirutis alterius urbis, duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere; castra ab urbe haud plus quinque millia passuum locant; fossâ circumdant; fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot secula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius, Albanus rex, moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettum Fuffetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, præcipuè morte regis, magnumque deorum numen[53], ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum pœnas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte præteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettum; ducit quàm proximè ad hostem potest[54]; inde legatum præmissum nunciare Tullo jubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit, satìs scire ea se allaturum, quæ nihilo minùs ad rem Romanam, quàm ad Albanam, pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana afferri rebatur[55], in aciem educit[56]. Exeunt contrà et Albani. Postquam instructi utrinque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: "Injurias "et non redditas res ex fœdere, quæ repetitæ sint, et "ego regem[57] nostrum Cluilium, causam hujusce esse "belli, audîsse videor; nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ "te ferre. Sed, si vera potiùs, quàm dictu speciosa, "dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque

"populos ad arma stimulat. Neque rectè, an perperam, "interpretor[58]; fuerit ista ejus deliberatio, qui bellum "suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. "Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim; Etrusca res[59], quanta "circa nos, teque maximè, sit, quò propiores vos, hoc "magìs scis; multùm illi terrâ, plurimùm mari pollent. "Memor esto, jam, quum signum pugnæ dabis, has duas "acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul "victorem ac victum, aggrediantur. Itaque, si nos dii "amant, quoniam, non contenti libertate certâ, in dubiam "imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, "quâ, utri utris imperent, sine magnâ clade, sine multo "sanguine utriusque populi, decerni possit." Haud displicet res Tullo, quanquam, tum indole animi, tum spe victoriæ, ferocior erat. Quærentibus utrinque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa præbuit materiam.

XXIV. Fortè in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini[60] fratres, nec ætate, nec viribus, dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satìs constat; nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior[61]; tamen in re tam clarâ nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii, fuerint. Auctores utróque trahunt[62]: plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro suâ quisque patriâ dimicent ferro; ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur: tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, fœdus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cujusque populi[63] cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bonâ pace imperitaret. Fœdera alia aliis legibus[64], ceterùm eodem modo omnia, fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior fœderis memoria est. Fecialis[65] regem Tullum ita rogavit: "Jubesne me, Rex, cum patre patrato[66] po-"puli Albani fœdus ferire?" jubente rege, "Sagmina[67]," inquit, "te, Rex, posco." Rex ait, "Puram tollito." Fecialis ex arce graminis herbam puram[68] attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: "Rex, facisne me tu regium nun-"cium populi Romani Quiritium[69]? vasa[70] comitesque "meos?" Rex respondit: "Quod sine fraude meâ po-"pulique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio[71]." Fecialis erat M. Valerius. Patrem patratum Sp. Fusium fecit, verbenâ

caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit fœdus; multisque id verbis[72], quæ, longo effata carmine, non operæ est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, "Audi," inquit, "Jupiter; audi, pater patrate populi Albani; audi tu, "populus Albanus; ut illa palàm[73] prima postrema ex "illis tabulis cerâve recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique "ea hìc hodie rectissimè intellecta sunt, illis legibus "populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit[74] "publico consilio, dolo malo, tu illo die, Jupiter[75], po"pulum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum[76] hìc "hodie feriam; tantoque magìs ferito, quanto magìs "potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice[77] percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

XXV. Fœdere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Quum sui utrosque adhortarentur, "deos pa"trios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quid"quid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri "manus," feroces et suopte ingenio[78], et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magìs præsentis, quàm curæ, expertes; quippe imperium agebatur[79], in tam paucorum virtute atque fortunâ positum. Itaque ergo[80] erecti suspensique in minimè gratum spectaculum[81] animo intenduntur. Datur signum; infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt; nec his nec illis periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo[82], futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit[83]; et, neutrò inclinatâ spe, torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, quum jam non motus tantùm corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque[84], sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt; ad quorum casum quum conclamâsset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat,

exanimes vice unius[85], quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Fortè is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversùs singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum[86], capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret. Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, quum respiciens vidit magnis intervallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit. Et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius, cæso hoste, victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium[87] solet, Romani adjuvant militem suum; et ille defungi prælio festinat. Priùs itaque, quàm alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Jamque, æquato Marte, singuli supererant, sed nec spe, nec viribus, pares; alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabant; alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu, trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage[88], victori objicitur hosti; nec illud prælium fuit. Romanus exsultans, "Duos," inquit, "fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causæ belli "hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." Malè sustinenti arma gladium supernè jugulo defigit: jacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt, eò majore cum gaudio, quò prope metum res fuerat[89]. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur; quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienæ facti. Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit; duo Romana uno loco propiùs Albam, tria Albana Romam versùs, sed distantia locis, et ut pugnatum[90] est.

XXVI. Priusquam indè digrederentur, roganti Metto ex fœdere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti juventutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum operâ, si bellum cum Vejentibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat[91], trigemina spolia præ se gerens; cui soror virgo, quæ desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento[92] sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci juveni animum com-

ploratio sororis in victoriâ suâ tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transfigit puellam. "Abi hinc cum immaturo amore[93] ad sponsum," inquit, "oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, "oblita patriæ. Sic eat, quæcunque Romana lugebit "hostem[94]." Atrox visum id facinus Patribus plebique; sed recens meritum facto obstabat[95]; tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus judicii, aut, secundùm judicium, supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, "Duumviros," inquit, "qui "Horatio perduellionem judicent[96], secundùm legem "facio." Lex horrendi carminis[97] erat: "Duumviri per-"duellionem judicent. Si à duumviris provocârit, pro-"vocatione certato[98]: si vincent, caput obnubito: infelici "arbori[99] reste suspendito: verberato vel intra pomœrium "vel extra pomœrium[1]." Hâc lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur eâ lege, ne innoxium quidem[2], posse, quum condemnâssent; tum alter ex his, "P. Ho-"rati, tibi perduellionem judico," inquit. "I, lictor, "colliga manus." Accesserat lictor, injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete[3], "Provoco," inquit. Ita demum provocatione certatum[4] ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo judicio, maximè P. Horatio patre proclamante se filiam jure cæsam judicare; ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadversurum[5] fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo antè cum egregiâ stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter hæc senex, juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia[6] appellatur, ostentans, "Hunccine," aiebat, "quem modò de-"coratum ovantemque victoriâ incedentem vidistis, "Quirites, eum[7] sub furcâ[8] vinctum inter verbera et "cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi "tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent[9]. I, lictor, "colliga manus, quæ paulo antè armatæ imperium po-"pulo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris "urbis hujus: arbori infelici suspende: verbera, vel "intra pomœrium, modò inter illa pila et spolia hos-"tium; vel extra pomœrium, modò intra[9*] sepulcra Curi-"atiorum. Quò enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, "ubi non sua decora eum à tantâ fœditate supplicii vin-

"dicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrymas, nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum[10]; absolveruntque admiratione magìs virtutis, quàm jure causæ. Itaque, ut cædes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecuniâ publicâ[11]. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quæ deinde genti Horatiæ tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto, velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quoque, publicè semper refectum[13], manet. Sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiæ sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit; invidia vulgi[14], quòd tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit; et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis[15] reconciliare popularium animos cœpit. Igitur, ut priùs in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quærens, quia suæ civitati animorum plus quàm virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palàm atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos: suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat[16]. Fidenates, colonia Romana[17], Vejentibus sociis consilii assumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum[18], ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Quum Fidenæ apertè descîssent, Tullus, Metto exercituque ejus ab Albâ accito, contra hostes ducit; ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes[19] collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Vejentium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu[20]: in sinistro Fidenates propiùs montes consistunt. Tullus adversùs Vejentem hostem dirigit suos: Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat, quàm fidei; nec manere ergo, nec transire apertè, ausus, sensim ad montes succedit[21]. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem[22]: fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, quà fortuna rem daret, eà inclinare vires. Miraculo primò esse Romanis[23], qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt: inde eques citato equo nunciat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepidâ duodecim vovit Salios[24], fanaque Pallori ac Pavori; equitem, clarâ increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in prælium jubet; "nihil

"trepidatione opus esse: suo jussu circumduci Albanum "exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant." Idem imperat[25], ut hastas equites erigere jubeat. Id factum magnæ parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitûs intersepsit. Qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eò acriùs pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit: et audiverant[26] clarâ voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latinè sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus; fusoque Fidenatium cornu, in Vejentem, alieno pavore perculsum, ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum; sed ab effusâ fugâ[27] flumen objectum à tergo arcebat. Quò postquam fuga inclinavit; alii, arma fœdè jactantes, in aquam cæci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugæ pugnæque consilium[28] oppressi. Non alia antè Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettus Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur: contrà Tullus Mettum benignè alloquitur. "Quod bene vertat[29], castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere" jubet: sacrificium lustrale[30] in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus, ut assolet, vocari ad concionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Præcones, ab extremo orsi, primos excivere Albanos: hi, novitate etiam[31] rei moti, ut regem Romanum concionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex composito[32] armata circumdatur Romana legio; centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut sine morâ imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit: "Romani, si unquam antè aliàs "ullo in bello[33] fuit, quòd primùm diis immortalibus "gratias ageretis, deinde vestræ ipsorum virtuti, hester"num id prælium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non "magis cum hostibus, quàm, quæ dimicatio major atque "periculosior est, cum proditione ac perfidiâ sociorum. "Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, injussu meo Albani "subiere ad montes; nec imperium illud meum, sed "consilium et imperii simulatio fuit: ut nec, vobis "ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur à certamine ani"mus; et hostibus, circumveniri se à tergo ratis, terror "ac fuga injiceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, om-

"nium Albanorum est; ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, "si quò ego inde agmen[34] declinare voluissem, fecissetis. "Mettus ille est ductor itineris hujus, Mettus idem "hujus machinator belli, Mettus fœderis Romani Alba-"nique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc "insigne jam documentum mortalibus dedero." Centuriones armati Mettum circumsistunt; rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit. "Quod bonum, faustum, felixque "sit[35] populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, popu-"lum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est; "civitatem[36] dare plebi; primores in Patres legere; "unam urbem, unam rempublicam facere. Ut ex uno "quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic "nunc in unum redeat." Ad hæc Albana pubes, inermis, ab armatis septa, in variis voluntatibus, communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus: "Mette Fuffeti," inquit, "si ipse discere posses fidem "ac fœdera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina à me adhibita "esset[37]. Nunc quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, "at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta "credere, quæ à te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo antè "animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipi-"tem[38] gessisti, ita jam corpus passim distrahendum "dabis." Exinde, duabus admotis quadrigis[39], in currus earum distentum illigat Mettum; deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, quà inhæserant[40] vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes à tantâ fœditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum[41] fuit; in aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse pœnas.

XXIX. Inter hæc[42] jam præmissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductæ ad diruendam urbem. Quæ ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille, nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, quum, effractis portis, stratisve ariete muris, aut arce vi captâ, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammâque miscet: sed silentium triste ac tacita mœstitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut, præ metu obliti quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogitantesque alii alios,

nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud[44] visuri, pervagarentur. Ut verò jam equitum clamor exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum, quæ diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus[45], audiebatur, pulvisque, ex distantibus locis ortus, velut nube inductâ omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis[46], quum larem ac penates[47] tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent; jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutuâ miseratione integrabat lacrymas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum præcipuè, quum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta præterirent, ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adæquat solo; unaque hora quadringentorum[48] annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen deûm (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est[49].

XXX. Roma interim crescit Albæ ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus. Cœlius additur urbi mons; et, quò frequentiùs habitaretur[50], eam sedem Tullus regiæ capit, ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in Patres[51], ut ea quoque pars reipublicæ cresceret, legit, Tullios[52], Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Clœlios: templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit[53], quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum ætatem appellata est; et, ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adjiceretur, equitum decem turmas[54] ex Albanis legit. Legiones et veteres eodem supplemento[55] explevit, et novas scripsit. Hâc fiduciâ virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti eâ tempestate secundùm Etruscos opulentissimæ viris armisque. Utrinque injuriæ factæ, ac res nequicquam erant repetitæ. Tullus ad Feroniæ[56] fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur. Sabini suos priùs in lucum confugisse[57], ac Romæ retentos. Hæ causæ belli ferebantur. Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum virium partem Romæ ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper etiam adjectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi[58] externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina; proximi Etruscorum Vejentes[59]. Inde, ob residuas bellorum iras maximè, sol-

licitatis ad defectionem animis, voluntarios traxere; et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces[60] valuit. Publico auxilio[61] nullo adjuti sunt; valuitque apud Vejentes (nam de ceteris minùs mirum[62] est) pacta cum Romulo induciarum fides. Quum bellum utrinque summâ ope pararent, vertique in eo res videretur[63], utri priùs arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire[64]. Pugna atrox ad Sylvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterùm equitatu aucto nuper plurimùm Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibùs repentè invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum: nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magnâ cæde potuit.

XXXI. Devictis Sabinis, quum in magnâ gloriâ magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nunciatum regi Patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse[65]. Quod quum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quàm quum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere cœlo lapides. Visi etiam audire[66] vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quæ, velut diis quoque simul cum patriâ relictis, oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut, fortunæ, ut fit, obirati, cultum reliquerant deûm. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum[67] publicè susceptum est, seu voce cœlesti ex Albano monte missâ, (nam id quoque traditur) seu aruspicum monitu. Mansit certè sollenne, ut, quandoque[68] idem prodigium nunciaretur, feriæ per novem dies agerentur. Haud ita multo pòst pestilentiâ laboratum est; unde quum pigritia militandi oriretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur ab bellicoso rege[69], salubriora[70] etiam credente militiæ, quàm domi, juvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo[71] est implicitus. Tunc adeò fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil antè ratus esset minùs regium, quàm sacris dedere animum, repentè omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret[72], religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgò jam homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numâ rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem[73] ægris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque

à diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt, volventem commentarios Numæ, quum ibi quædam occulta sollennia sacrificia Jovi Elicio[74] facta invenisset, operatum[75] his sacris se abdidisse, sed non ritè initum aut curatum id sacrum esse; nec solùm nullam ei oblatam cœlestium speciem[76], sed irâ Jovis, sollicitati pravâ religione, fulmine ictum cum domo[77] conflagrâsse. Tullus magnâ gloriâ belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

XXXII. Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad Patres redierat[78]: hique interregem nominaverant; quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit. Patres fuere auctores[79]. Numæ Pompilii regis nepos, filiâ ortus, Ancus Marcius erat, qui, ut regnare cœpit, et avitæ gloriæ memor, et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab unâ parte[80] haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus, aut pravè cultis, longè antiquissimum[81] ratus, sacra publica, ut ab Numâ instituta erant, facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem, in album relata[82], proponere in publico jubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus, Tullo regnante, ictum fœdus erat, sustulerant animos; et, quum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbè responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium[83], et Numæ et Romuli memor: et, præterquam quòd avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat, quum in novo, tum feroci populo, etiam, quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuriâ id se haud facilè habiturum: tentari patientiam, et tentatam contemni: temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora, quàm Numæ. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, à se bellicæ ceremoniæ proderentur; nec gererentur solùm, sed etiam indicerentur, bella aliquo ritu; jus ab antiquâ gente Æquicolis, quod nunc feciales habent, descripsit[84], quo res repetuntur. Legatus, ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo, (lanæ velamen est)[85], "Audi, Jupiter," inquit, "audite, "fines," (cujuscunque gentis sunt, nominat,) "audiat "fas[86]. Ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani;

"justè piéque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit." Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit: "Si ego injustè impiéque illos homines illasque res dedier "nuncio populi Romani mihi exposco, tum patriæ com-"potem me nunquam sîris[87] esse." Hæc, quum fines suprascandit, hæc, quicunque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, hæc, portam ingrediens, hæc, forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur, quos exposcit[88], diebus tribus et triginta (tot enim sollennes sunt[89]) peractis, bellum ita indicit: "Audi, Jupiter, et tu, Juno, Quirine, diique "omnes cœlestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni, "audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum" (quicunque est, nominat) "injustum esse, neque jus persolvere. "Sed de istis rebus in patriâ majores natu consulemus, "quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur." Cum his nuncius Romam ad consulendum redit[90]. Confestim rex his ferme verbis Patres consulebat: "Quarum rerum, "litium, causarum condixit[91] pater patratus populi Ro-"mani Quiritium patri patrato priscorum Latinorum "hominibusque priscis Latinis, quas res dari, fieri, solvi "oportuit, quas res nec dederunt, nec fecerunt, nec "solverunt, dic," inquit ei quem primum sententiam rogabat, "quid censes?" Tum ille: "Puro pioque duello quærendas censeo, itaque consentio, consciscoque[92]. Inde ordine alii rogabantur: quandoque pars major eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensu[93]. Fieri solitum, ut fecialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam[94] præustam ad fines eorum ferret, et, non minùs tribus puberibus præsentibus, diceret: "Quòd "populi priscorum Latinorum hominesque prisci Latini "adversùs populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt[95], deli-"querunt; quòd populus Romanus Quiritium bellum "cum priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Ro-"mani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum "cum priscis Latinis fieret; ob eam rem ego populus-"que Romanus populis priscorum Latinorum homini-"busque priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque." Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitæ res, ac bellum indictum: moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

XXXIII. Ancus, demandatâ curâ sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto, profectus, Politorium urbem Latinorum vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit; et, quum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum[96], Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Cœlium montem Albani, implêssent, Aventinum novæ multitudini datum[97]. Additi eódem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanâque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendæ urbis ejus fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremò, omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso[98], aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, variâ victoriâ, pugnatum est: nam et urbs tuta munitionibus præsidioque firmata valido erat; et, castris in aperto positis, aliquoties exercitus Latinus cominus cum Romanis signa contulerat[99]. Ad ultimum, omnibus copiis connisus, Ancus acie[1] primùm vincit; inde, ingenti prædâ potitus, Romam redit, tum quoque multis millibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis; quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciæ[2] datæ sedes. Janículum quoque adjectum, non inopiâ loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solùm[3], sed etiam, ob commoditatem itineris, ponte sublicio[4], tum primùm in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum à planioribus aditu locis[5], Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, quum in tantâ multitudine hominum, discrimine rectè an perperam facti confuso[6], facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciæ mediâ urbe, imminens foro, ædificatur. Nec urbs tantùm hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Sylva Mæsia Vejentibus adempta. Usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita. Salinæ circà factæ; egregiéque rebus bello gestis, ædis Jovis Feretrii amplificata.

XXXIV. Anco regnante, Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maximè ac spe magni honoris, cujus adipiscendi Tarquiniis (nam ibi quoque peregrinâ stirpe oriundus erat) facultas non

fuerat. Damarati Corinthii filius erat; qui, ob seditiones domo profugus, quum Tarquiniis fortè consedisset, uxore ubi ductâ, duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri, bonorum omnium hæres. Aruns prior quàm pater moritur, uxore gravidâ relictâ. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui quum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre[7], immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero, post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopiâ Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contrà, omnium hæredi bonorum, quum divitiæ jam animos facerent[8], auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quæ haud facilè iis[9], in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret. Ea, quum illi nupsisset, spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule advenâ ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit; oblitaque ingenitæ erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimùm visa. "In novo populo[9*], ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute "nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro: reg-"nâsse Tatium Sabinum: arcessitum in regnum Numam "à Curibus: et Ancum Sabinâ matre[10] ortum, nobilem-"que unâ imagine[11] Numæ, esse." Facilè persuadet, ut cupido honorum[12], et cui Tarquinii materna tantùm patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus, commigrant Romam. Ad Janiculum fortè ventum erat. Ibi ei, carpento sedenti cum uxore, aquila, suspensis demissa leniter alis, pileum aufert; superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus, velut ministerio[13] divinitùs missa, capiti aptè reponit. Inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium læta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgò Etrusci, cœlestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta[14] sperare complexa virum jubet: "eam alitem[15], eâ regione cœli, et ejus "dei nunciam venisse; circa summum culmen hominis "auspicium fecisse; levâsse humano superpositum capiti "decus[16], ut divinitùs eidem redderet." Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes, urbem ingressi sunt; domicilioque ibi comparato, L. Tarquinium [Priscum] edidere nomen[17]. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiæque faciebant: et ipse fortunam, benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando,

adjuvabat; donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est, notitiamque eam[18] brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextréque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiæ adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset: et, per omnia expertus[19], postremò tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quatuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloriâ par. Jam filii prope puberem ætatem erant. Eò magìs Tarquinius instare, ut quàm primùm comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit[20]; isque primus et petîsse ambitiosè regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam; quum[21], "se non rem novam petere, quippe "qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive "posset, sed tertius Romæ peregrinus regnum affectet: "et Tatium non ex peregrino solùm, sed etiam ex hoste, "regem factum: et Numam, ignarum urbis, non peten- "tem, in regnum ultro[22] accitum. Se, ex quo sui potens[23] "fuerit, Romam cum conjuge ac fortunis omnibus com- "migrâsse. Majorem partem ætatis ejus, quâ civilibus "officiis fungantur homines, Romæ se, quàm in vetere "patriâ, vixisse. Domi militiæque, sub haud pœnitendo "magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se jura, Romanos "ritus, didicisse. Obsequio et observantiâ in regem cum "omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso, certâsse." Hæc eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit. Ergo virum, cetera egregium, secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minùs regni sui firmandi, quàm augendæ reipublicæ, memor, centum in Patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium[24] sunt appellati: factio haud dubia regis[25], cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit; prædâque inde majore, quàm quanta belli fama fuerat[26], revectâ, ludos opulentiùs instructiúsque, quàm priores reges, fecit. Tum primùm circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa Patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula[27] sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati. Spectavere[28] furcis duodenos ab terrâ spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex

Etruriâ maximè acciti. Sollennes deinde annui mansêre ludi, Romani magnique variè appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis ædificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernæque factæ.

XXXVI. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, quum Sabinum bellum cœptis intervenit. Adeóque ea subita res fuit, ut priùs Anienem transirent hostes, quàm obviàm ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romæ est; et primò dubiâ victoriâ, magnâ utrinque cæde, pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis, datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maximè suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnenses, Tatienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit, suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inauguratò Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclytus eâ tempestate augur, neque mutari, neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota; eludensque artem, (ut ferunt) "Agedum," inquit, "divine tu, inau- "gura[29], fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio." Quum ille, in augurio rem expertus, profectò futuram dixisset, "Atqui hoc animo agitavi," inquit, "te nova- "culâ cotem discissurum; cape hæc, et perage, quod aves "tuæ fieri posse portendunt." Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio[30], in gradibus ipsis ad lævam curiæ fuit: cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi ejus monumentum. Auguriis certè[31] sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea, nisi auspicatò, gereretur; concilia populi, exercitus vocati; summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur[32]. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum[33] adjecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores[34], modò sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt: quas nunc, quia geminatæ sunt[35], sex vocant centurias.

XXXVII. Hâc parte copiarum auctâ, iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed, præterquam quòd viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis, qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripâ jacentem,

ardentem in flumen conjicerent; ventoque juvante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus[36], impacta sublicis, quum hærerent, pontem[37] incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugnâ terrorem attulit Sabinis, et fusis[38] eadem fugam impediit; multique mortales, quum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periêre; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, priùs penè quàm nunciari posset, insignem victoriam fecêre[39]. Eo prælio præcipua equitum gloria fuit. Utrinque ab cornibus positos, quum jam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incucurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modò Sabinas legiones, ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subitò in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuêre[40]; maxima pars, ut antè dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius, instandum perterritis ratus, prædâ captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium (votum id Vulcano[41] erat) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porrò in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et, quanquam malè gesta res erat, nec gesturos meliùs sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iêre obviàm Sabini tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi, perditis jam propè rebus, pacem petiêre.

XXXVIII. Collatia[42], et quicquid circa Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum. Egerius (fratris hic filius erat regis) Collatiæ in præsidio relictus; deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque deditionis formulam esse. Rex interrogavit: "Estisne vos legati oratoresque, missi à populo "Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis? "*Sumus*. Estne populus Collatinus in suâ potestate[43]? "*Est*. Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, "agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia[44], divina "humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani ditio- "nem? *Dedimus*. At ego recipio." Bello Sabino perfecto, Tarquinius triumphans[45] Romam rediit. Indè priscis Latinis bellum fecit; ubi nusquam ad universæ rei dimicationem ventum est. Ad singula oppida circumferendo arma, omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, hæc de priscis Latinis, aut qui ad Latinos defecerant, capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta. Majore inde animo pacis opera inchoata, quàm quantâ

mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior[46] populus domi esset, quàm militiæ fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, quâ[47] nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, (quia ex planis locis haud facilè evehebant aquas,) cloacis è fastigio[48] in Tiberim ductis, siccat; et aream ad ædem in Capitolio Jovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, jam præsagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat[49] fundamentis.

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regiâ prodigium[50] visu eventuque mirabile fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Ser. Tullio nomen fuit, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantæ rei miraculum orto excitos reges[51]; et, quum quidam familiarium[52] aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab reginâ retentum; sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec suâ sponte experrectus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abiisse. Tum, abducto in secretum viro, Tanaquil, "Viden' tu "puerum hunc," inquit, "quem tam humili cultu educa"mus? Scire licet[53] hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris "dubiis futurum, præsidiumque regiæ afflictæ. Proinde "materiem[54] ingentis publicè privatimque decoris omni "indulgentiâ nostrâ nutriamus." Indè puerum liberûm loco cœptum haberi, erudirique artibus quibus ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur[55]. Evenit facilè, quod diis cordi esset. Juvenis evasit verè indolis regiæ[56]. Nec, quum quæreretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanæ juventutis ullâ arte conferri potuit; filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic quâcunque de causâ[57] tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet servâ natum eum, parvumque ipsum servîsse. Eorum magìs sententiæ sum, qui, Corniculo capto, Ser. Tullii, qui princeps in illâ urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, quum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem[58] ab reginâ Romanâ prohibitam, ferunt servitio partum Romæ edidisse Prisci Tarquinii domo. Indè tanto beneficio et inter mulieres[59] familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo à parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quòd captâ patriâ in hostium manus venerit, ut servâ natus crederetur, fecisse.

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare cœperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modò, sed apud Patres plebemque, longè maximo honore Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant[60], se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romæ advenam, non modò[61] civicæ, sed ne Italicæ quidem, stirpis, tum impensiùs his indignitas[62] crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed præceps indè porrò ad servitia caderet, ut in eâdem civitate post centesimum ferè annum[63], quàm Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus servâ natus possideat. Tum commune Romani nominis, tum præcipuè id domûs suæ dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili stirpe salvâ, non modò advenis, sed servis etiam, regnum Romæ pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriæ dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magìs, quàm in Servium, eos stimulabat; et quia[64] gravior ultor cædis, si superesset, rex futurus erat, quàm privatus; tum, Servio occiso, quemcunque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni hæredem facturus videbatur. Ob hæc ipsi regi insidiæ parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi, delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus[65] ferramentis, in vestibulo regiæ, quàm potuêre tumultuosissimè, specie rixæ in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, quum ambo regem appellarent, clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primò uterque vociferari, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere. Coërciti ab lictore, et jussi invicem[66] dicere, tandem obloqui desistunt. Unus rem ex composito orditur. Cùm intentus in eum se rex totus averteret[67], alter elatam securim in caput dejecit; relictoque in vulnere telo, ambo se foras ejiciunt.

XLI. Tarquinium moribundum quum qui circà erant excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi[68], mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet; arbitros[69] ejecit; simul, quæ curando vulneri opus sunt, tanquam spes subesset, sedulò comparat; simul, si destituat spes, alia præsidia molitur[70]. Servio properè accito quum penè exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio, esse[71] sinat. "Tuum est," inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum;

"non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecêre. "Erige te, deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore "caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. "Nunc te illa cœlestis excitet flamma[72]; nunc expergis-"cere verè. Et nos peregrini regnavimus[73]. Qui sis, "non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subitâ consilia "torpent, at tu mea sequere." Quum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte ædium per fenestras, in novam viam versas, (habitabat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris[74]) populum Tanaquil alloquitur; jubet "bono animo esse; sopitum fuisse[75] regem "subito ictu; ferrum haud altè in corpus descendisse; jam "ad se redîsse; inspectum vulnus, absterso cruore; "omnia salubria[76] esse; confidere, propediem ipsum eos "visuros. Interim Ser. Tullo jubere populum dicto "audientem esse[77]. Eum jura redditurum, obiturumque "alia regis munia esse." Servius cum trabeâ[78] et lictoribus prodit; ac, sede regiâ sedens, alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque, per aliquot dies, quum jam expirâsset[79] Tarquinius, celatâ morte, per speciem alienæ fungendæ[80] vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam facto[81], et comploratione in regiâ ortâ, Servius, præsidio firmo munitus, primus injussu populi, voluntate Patrum, regnavit. Anci liberi jam tum, comprehensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nunciatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

XLII. Nec jam publicis magìs consiliis Servius, quàm privatis[82], munire opes; et ne, qualis Anci liberûm animus adversùs Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversùs se Tarquinii liberûm esset, duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniis, jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni[83] etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportunè ad præsentis quietem statûs[84], bellum cum Vejentibus (jam enim induciæ exierant[85]) aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex[86], seu Patrum, seu plebis, animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit. Aggrediturque inde ad pacis longè maximum opus[87]; ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Ser-

vium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque[88], quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæque aliquid interlucet, posteri famâ ferrent. Censum[89] enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut antè, sed pro habitu pecuniarum, fierent. Tum classes centuriasque[90] et hunc ordinem ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum[91], vel bello.

XLIII. Ex iis, qui centum millium æris[92], aut majorem, censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac juniorum[93]. Prima classis omnes appellati; seniores, ad urbis custodiam ut præstò essent; juvenes, ut forìs bella gererent. Arma his imperata, galea, clypeum, ocreæ, lorica, omnia ex ære; hæc ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela in hostem, hastaque et gladius. Additæ huic classi duæ fabrûm centuriæ[94], quæ sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent[95]. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta millium censum instituta; et ex his, senioribus junioribusque[96], viginti conscriptæ centuriæ. Arma imperata, scutum pro clypeo[97], et, præter loricam, omnia eadem[98]. Tertiæ classis in quinquaginta millium censum esse[99] voluit; totidem centuriæ et hæ, eodemque discrimine ætatum, factæ; nec de armis quidquam mutatum; ocreæ tantùm ademptæ. In quartâ classe census quinque et viginti millium; totidem centuriæ factæ. Arma mutata; nihil præter hastam et verutum datum[1]. Quinta classis aucta[2]; centuriæ triginta factæ; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi cornicines tubicinesque in tres centurias distributi[3]. Undecim millibus hæc classis censebatur[4]. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; indè una centuria facta est, immunis militiâ. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias tribus ab Romulo[5] institutis, sub iisdem, quibus inauguratæ erant, nominibus[6], fecit. Ad equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data[7]; et, quibus equos alerent, viduæ attributæ, quæ bina millia æris in annos singulos penderent[8]. Hæc omnia in dites à pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus; non enim (ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges) viritim suffragium eâdem vi

eodemque jure promiscuè omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penès primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primæ classis centuriæ[9]; ibi si variaret, quod raró incidebat, ut[10] secundæ classis vocarentur; nec ferè unquam infrà ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem[11], qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero, centuriis juniorum seniorumque ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisâ regionibus collibusque, quæ habitabantur partes, Tribus eas appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo[12]; nam ejus quoque æqualiter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est[13]. Neque hæ tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuêre.

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latæ[14] cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis, in campo Martio[15] primâ luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus[16] lustravit; idque conditum lustrum appellatum[17], quia is censendo finis factus est. Millia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adjicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor[18], eorum, qui ferre arma possent, eum numcrum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias[19]; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita pomœrium profert. Pomœrium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmœrium[20] interpretantur esse. Est autem magìs circa murum locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, quà murum ducturi erant, certis circà terminis inauguratò consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte ædificia mœnibus continuarentur[21], quæ nunc vulgò etiam conjungunt[22]; et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari, neque arari, fas erat, non magìs quòd post murum esset, quàm quòd murus post id, pomœrium Romani appellârunt; et in urbis incremento semper, quantùm

mœnia processura erant, tantùm termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

XLV. Auctâ civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Jam tum erat inclytum Dianæ Ephesiæ fanum. Id communiter à civitatibus Asiæ factum fama ferebat. Quum consensum deosque consociatos laudaret mirè Servius inter proceres Latinorum[23], cum quibus publicè privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industriâ junxerat, sæpe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romæ fanum Dianæ[24] populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. Id quanquam[25] omissum jam ex omnium curâ Latinorum, ob rem toties infeliciter tentatam armis, videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare[26] visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patrifamiliæ dicitur, mirandâ magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas ætates cornua[27] in vestibulo templi Dianæ monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est; et cecinêre vates, cujus civitatis eam civis Dianæ immolâsset[28], ibi fore imperium ; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianæ. Sabinus, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianæ, et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, quum eum magnitudo victimæ celebrata famâ movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita alloquitur : " Quidnam tu, hospes, " paras ?" inquit ; " incestè[29] sacrificium Dianæ facere ? " Quin tu antè vivo perfunderis flumine ? Infimâ valle " præfluit Tiberis." Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet ritè facta, ex templo[30] descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat[31] Dianæ bovem. Id mirè gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI. Servius, quanquam jam usu haud dubium regnum possederat[32], tamen, quia interdum jactari voces à juvene Tarquinio audiebat se injussu populi regnare, conciliatâ priùs voluntate plebis, agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, " vellent,

"juberentne, se regnare?" tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius antè, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni[33] minuit: immò eò impensiùs, quia de agro plebis adversâ Patrum voluntate senserat agi[34], criminandi Servii apud Patres crescendique in curiâ sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tulliâ inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia[35] sceleris tragici exemplum, ut tædio regum maturior veniret libertas; ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius (Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim[36]) fratrem habuerat Aruntem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut antè dictum est, duæ Tulliæ, regis filiæ, nupserant[37], et ipsæ longè dispares moribus. Fortè ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur, fortunâ[38], credo, populi Romani, quò diuturnius Servii regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiæ in viro, neque ad cupiditatem, neque ad audaciam, esse. Tota in alterum versa Tarquinium, eum mirari, eum virum dicere, ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quòd virum nacta muliebri cessaret audaciâ[39]. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut ferè fit malum malo aptissimum. Sed initium[40] turbandi omnia à feminâ ortum est. Ea, secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere, de viro ad fratrem[41], de sorore ad virum; et se rectiùs viduam[42], et illum cœlibem, futurum fuisse contendere, quàm cum impari jungi, ut elanguescendum alienâ ignaviâ esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se propediem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adolescentem suæ temeritatis implet. Aruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor, propè continuatis funeribus quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis[43], magis non prohibente Servio, quàm approbante.

XLVII. Tum verò in dies infestior Tullii senectus[44], infestius cœpit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus; nec nocte, nec interdiu,

virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita præterita parricidia essent[45]. "Non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur[46], nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se "regno dignum putaret; qui meminisset se esse Prisci "Tarquinii filium; qui habere, quàm sperare, regnum "mallet. Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et "virum et regem appello; sin minùs, eo nunc pejùs "mutata est res, quòd isthic[47] cum ignaviâ est scelus. "Quin accingeris[48]? Non tibi ab Corintho, nec ab "Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri[49] "necesse est. Dii te penates patriique, et patris "imago, et domus regia, et in domo regale solium, et "nomen Tarquinium, creat[50] vocatque regem. Aut "si ad hæc parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? "quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis? Facesse 'hinc Tarquinios, aut Corinthum. Devolvere retro ad "stirpem, fratri similior, quàm patri." His aliisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest; si, quum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum[51] in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare, minorum maximè gentium, Patres[54]; admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis juvenes; tum de se ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis, crescere[53]. Postremò, ut jam agendæ rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum, in forum irrupit: inde, omnibus perculsis pavore, in regiâ sede pro curiâ sedens, Patres in curiam per præconem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenêre extemplò, alii jam antè ad hoc præparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi[54] esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti, et jam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius, maledicta ab stirpe ultimâ[55] orsus: "Servum, servâque natum, "post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut "antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium "populi, non auctoribus Patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupâsse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fau- "torem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio "alienæ honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sor-

"didissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quæ communia "quondam fuerint, inclinâsse in primores civitatis; in-"stituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum "fortuna esset[56], et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis "largiretur."

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius quum intervenisset, trepido nuncio excitatus, extemplò à vestibulo curiæ magnâ voce, "Quid hoc," inquit, "Tarquini, rei est? "quâ tu audaciâ me vivo vocare ausus es Patres? aut "in sede considere meâ?" Quum ille ferociter ad hæc: "Se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quàm servum po-"tiorem, filium regis, regni hæredem[57]; satìs illum diu "per licentiam[58] eludentem insultâsse dominis," clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum, qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate jam ipsâ cogente ultima audere, multo et ætate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium; elatumque è curiâ ad inferiorem partem per gradus dejicit. Inde ad cogendum senatum[59] in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum. Ipse propè exsanguis, quum semianimi regio comitatu[60] domum se reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum[61], ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret à cetero[62] scelere, admonitu Tulliæ id factum. Carpento certè (id quod satìs constat) in forum invecta, nec reverita[63] cœtum virorum, evocavit virum è curiâ; regemque prima appellavit[64]; à quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu quum se domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium[65] nuper fuit, flectenti[66] carpentum dextrâ in Orbium[67] clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominæ Servium trucidatum ostendit. Fœdum[68] inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est. Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur; partemque sanguinis ac cædis paternæ cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui: quibus iratis, malo regni principio similes propediem exitus sequerentur[69]. Ser.

Tullius regnavit annos quatuor et quadraginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis æmulatio esset. Ceterùm id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quòd cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium, tamen, quia unius esset[70], deponere eum in animo habuisse, quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandæ patriæ consilia agitanti intervenisset.

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo[71] cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepulturâ prohibuit, "Romulum quoque insepultum perîsse" dictitans. Primores Patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebat, interfecit. Conscius deinde malè quærendi regni ab se ipso adversùs se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit; neque enim ad jus regni quicquam præter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi jussu, neque auctoribus Patribus, regnaret. Eò accedebat[72], ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset; quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis[73] per se solus exercebat; perque eam causam[74] occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis mulctare, poterat, non suspectos modò aut invisos, sed unde[75] nihil aliud quàm prædam sperare posset. Ita Patrum præcipuè numero imminuto, statuit nullos in Patres legere; quò contemptior paucitate ipsâ ordo esset, minùsque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum à prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis rempublicam administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac senatûs, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maximè gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset; neque hospitia modò cum primoribus eorum, sed affinitates quoque, jungebat. Octavio Mamilio[76] Tusculano (is longè princeps Latini nominis erat, si famæ credimus, ab Ulixe[77] deâque Circe oriundus) ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat; perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

L. Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, quum, in diem certam ut ad lucum

Ferentinæ[79] conveniant, indicit; esse, quæ agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes primâ luce. Ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit[80]; sed, paullo antè quàm sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi totâ die in concilio variis jactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricià ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: "Haud mirum esse Superbo inditum "Romæ cognomen." (Jam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgò tamen[81], eum appellabant.) "An quic- "quam superbius esse, quàm ludificari sic omne nomen "Latinum? Principibus longè ab domo excitis, ipsum, "qui concilium indixerit, non adesse: tentari profectò "patientiam, ut, si jugum acceperint, obnoxios[82] pre- "mat. Cui enim non apparere, affectare eum imperium "in Latinos? Quòd si sui bene crediderint[83] cives, "aut si creditum illud, et non raptum parricidio, sit, "credere et Latinos (quanquam ne sic quidem alieni- "genæ) debere. Sin suos ejus pœniteat, (quippe qui "alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, bona "amittant,) quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si "se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros: "neque magìs observaturos diem concilii quàm ipse, "qui indixerit, observet." Hæc atque alia eòdem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque[84] homo, hisque artibus opes domi nactus, quum maximè dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum; qui, silentio facto, monitus à proximis ut purgaret se, quòd id temporis venisset, "disceptatorem," ait, "se sumptum[85] inter "patrem et filium; curâ reconciliandi eos in gratiam "moratum esse; et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, "postero die acturum, quæ constituisset." Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum[86] ferunt; dixisse enim, "Nullam breviorem esse cognitionem[87], quàm inter "patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse; ni "pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse."

LI. Hæc Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans, ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quàm videbatur ægriùs ferens, confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret; et, quia pro im-

perio[88] palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversæ factionis quosdam[89] Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupit, ut in diversorium[90] ejus vim[91] magnam gladiorum inferri clam sineret. Ea quum unâ nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius, paullo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re novâ perturbatus, " Moram suam " hesternam, velut deorum quâdam providentiâ illa- " tam," ait, " saluti sibi atque illis fuisse; ab Turno " dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut " Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Aggressurum " fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, " quòd auctor concilii[92] abfuerit, quem maximè peteret. " Indè illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quòd " morando spem destituerit[93]. Non dubitare[94], si vera " deferantur, quin primâ luce, ubi ventum in concilium " sit, instructus cum conjuratorum manu armatusque " venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem numerum " esse ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, ex " templo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut indè secum ad " Turnum veniant." Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox, et oratio hesterna, et mora Tarquinii; quòd videbatur ob eam differri cædes potuisse[95]. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen, nisi gladiis deprehensis, cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eò ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, quum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis diverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa, injectæque Turno catenæ; et confestim Latinorum consilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est, gladiis in medio positis, ut, indictâ causâ, novo genere lethi, dejectus ad caput aquæ Ferentinæ, crate supernè injectâ saxisque congestis, mergeretur.

LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis, Tarquinius, collaudatisque qui Turnum novantem res[96] pro manifesto parricidio meritâ pœnâ affecissent, ita verba fecit: " Posse quidem se vetusto jure[97] agere; " quòd, quum omnes Latini ab Albâ oriundi sint, in eo " fœdere[98] teneantur, quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana " cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium.

"Ceterùm se utilitatis id magìs omnium causâ[99] censere, ut renovetur id fœdus: secundâque potiùs fortunâ populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quàm urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco priùs, patre deinde suo regnante, perpessi sint, semper aut exspectent, aut patiantur." Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quanquam in eo fœdere superior Romana res erat; ceterùm et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant[1], et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum fœdus, indictumque junioribus Latinorum, ut ex fœdere die certâ ad Lucum Ferentinæ armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenêre, ne ducem suum, neve secretum imperium, propriave signa, haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis[2]; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones[3] imposuit.

LIII. Nec, ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quin eâ arte æquâsset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset[4]. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos ampliùs post suam ætatem[5] annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit; ubi quum divendendâ prædâ quadraginta talenta argenti [aurique] recepisset[6], concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi, quæ digna deûm hominumque rege, quæ Romano imperio, quæ ipsius etiam loci majestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in ædificationem ejus templi seposuit. Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, quum obsidendi quoque urbem[7] spes pulso à mœnibus adempta esset, postremò minimè arte Romanâ, fraude ac dolo, aggressus est. Nam quum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi jaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus, qui minimus[8] ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se sævitiam intolerabilem conquerens: "Jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiæ tædere[9], ut, quam in curiâ solitudinem fecerit, domi

" quoque faciat; ne quam stirpem, ne quem hæredem " regni, relinquat. Se quidem, inter tela et gladios " patris elapsum, nihil usquam sibi tutum, nisi apud " hostes L. Tarquinii, credidisse. Nam, ne errarent, " manere his bellum, quod positum simuletur; et per " occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quòd si apud " eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne " Latium; Volscosque se indè, et Æquos, et Hernicos, " petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui à patrum " crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. " Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se " adversùs superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum popu-" lum inventurum[10]." Quum, si nihil morarentur[11], infensus irâ porrò inde abiturus videretur, benignè ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari[12], si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremò sæviturum, si alia desint[13]. Sibi verò gratum adventum ejus esse; futurumque credere brevi, ut, illo adjuvante, ab portis Gabinis sub Romana mœnia bellum transferatur.

LIV. Indè in concilia publica adhiberi; ubi, quum de aliis rebus assentire[14] se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus hæ notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse; in eo sibi præcipuam prudentiam assumere, quòd utriusque populi vires nôsset, sciretque invisam profectò superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita quum sensim ad rebellandum[15] primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis juvenum prædatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi quum, insciâ multitudine quid ageretur[16], prœlia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium dono deûm sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites verò obeundo pericula ac labores, pariter prædam munificè largiendo, tantâ caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romæ, quàm filius Gabiis, esset. Itaque, postquam satìs virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum è suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad pa-

trem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet? quandoquidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dii dedissent. Huic nuncio, quia, credo, dubiæ fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex, velut deliberabundus, in hortum ædium transit, sequente nuncio filii; ibi, inambulans tacitus, summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuncius fessus, ut re imperfectâ, redit Gabios. Quæ dixerit ipse, quæque viderit, refert; seu irâ, seu odio, seu superbiâ insitâ ingenio, nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens, quidve præciperet tacitis ambagibus[17], patuit, primores civitatis, criminando alios apud populum, alios suâ ipsos invidiâ opportunos[18], interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minùs speciosa criminatio[19] erat futura, clam, interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga[20], aut in exsilium acti sunt; absentiumque bona, juxta atque interemptorum, divisui[21] fuere. Largitionis inde prædæque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi; donec, orba consilio auxilioque, Gabina res regi Romano ullâ dimicatione in manum traditur.

LV. Gabiis receptis[22], Tarquinius pacem cum Æquorum gente fecit; fœdus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum, ut Jovis templum[23] in monte Tarpejo[24], monumentum regni sui nominisque, relinqueret: Tarquinios[25] reges ambos, patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et, ut libera à ceteris religionibus area esset[26] tota Jovis templique ejus, quod inædificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quæ aliquot ibi à Tatio rege, primùm in ipso discrimine adversùs Romulum pugnæ vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi hujus operis movisse numen[27] ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos. Nam quum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini[28] fano non addixêre. Id omen auguriumque ita acceptum est:—non motam Termini sedem, unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus, firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud, magnitudinem imperii portendens, prodigium est. Caput humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta

templi dicitur apparuisse. Quæ visa species, haud per ambages, arcem eam imperii caputque rerum[29] fore portendebat: idque ita cecinêre vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruriâ acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinæ manubiæ, quæ perducendo ad culmen operi destinatæ erant[30], vix in fundamenta suppeditavêre. Eò magìs Fabio, præterquam quòd antiquior est, crediderim[31] quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quàm Pisoni[32], qui quadraginta millia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniæ neque ex unius tum urbis prædâ sperandam, et nullius, ne horum quidem magnificentiæ operum, fundamenta non exsuperaturam[33]. Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruriâ accitis, non pecuniâ solùm ad id publicâ est usus, sed operis[34] ex plebe. Qui quum haud parvus et ipse militiæ adderetur labor[35], minùs tamen plebs gravabatur se templa deûm exædificare manibus suis; quæ posthac et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto majoris, traducebatur opera:—foros[36] in circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia[37] quidquam adæquare potuit. His laboribus exercitâ plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latiùs imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circejosque colonos misit, præsidia urbi futura terrâ marique[38].

LVI. Hæc agenti portentum terribile visum; anguis, ex columnâ ligneâ elapsus[39], quum terrorem fugamque in regiam fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus, quàm anxiis implevit curis. Itaque, quum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantùm vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu, Delphos ad maximè inclytum in terris oraculum mittere statuit; neque responsa sortium[40] ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas eâ tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Græciam misit. Titus et Aruns profecti. Comes his additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquiniâ sorore regis natus[41], juvenis longè alius ingenio, quàm cujus simulationem induerat[42]. Is, quum primores civitatis[43], in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum, audìsset, neque in

animo suo quidquam regi timendum[44], neque in fortunâ concupiscendum, relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. Ergo ex industriâ factus ad imitationem stultitiæ, quum se suaque prædæ esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua[45]. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium veriùs, quàm comes, aureum baculum, inclusum corneo[46] cavato ad id baculo, tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui[47]. Quò postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupido incessit[48] animos juvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: "Imperium summum Romæ habebit, qui vestrûm primus, ô juvenes, osculum matri tulerit." Tarquinii, ut Sextus, qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summâ ope taceri jubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, quum Romam redîssent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus aliò ratus spectare Pythicam vocem[49], velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet, quòd ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversùs Rutulos bellum summâ vi parabatur.

LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in eâ regione[50] atque in eâ ætate, divitiis præpollens; eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quòd rex Romanus tum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentiâ publicorum operum, tum prædâ delinire popularium animos, studebat, præter aliam superbiam[51], regno infestos etiam, quòd se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tamdiu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Tentata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque cœpti premi hostes. In iis stativis, ut fit longo magìs quàm acri bello, satìs liberi commeatus[52] erant, primoribus tamen magìs, quàm militibus. Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis comessationibusque inter se terebant. Fortè potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cœnabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius[53], incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso[54], Collatinus negat verbis

opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantùm ceteris præstet Lucretia sua. "Quin, si vigor juventæ "inest[55], conscendimus equos, invisimusque præsentes "nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, "quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis." Incaluerant vino. "Age sanè," omnes[56]. Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quò quum, primis se intendentibus tenebris, pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam; ubi Lucretiam, haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque[57] cum æqualibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte serâ deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio ædium sedentem, inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penès Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benignè. Victor maritus comiter invitat regios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiæ per vim stuprandæ capit; tum forma, tum spectata castitas, incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenili ludo in castra redeunt.

LVIII. Paucis interjectis diebus, Sex. Tarquinius, inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit; ubi exceptus benignè ab ignaris consilii, quum post cœnam in hospitale cubiculum[58] deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circà sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistrâque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, "Tace, Lucretia," inquit; "Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; "moriere, si emiseris vocem." Quum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem propè[59], mortem imminentem, videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat, et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus; cum mortuâ jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore quum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut victrix libido[60], profectusque inde Tarquinius, ferox expugnato[61] decore muliebri, esset, Lucretia, mœsta tanto malo, nuncium Romam eundem[62] ad patrem, Ardeamque ad virum, mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis[63] veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus[64] esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum

L. Junio Bruto, venit; cum quo fortè Romam rediens[65], ab nuncio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem mœstam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrymæ obortæ; quærentique viro, "Satin' salvæ[66]?" "Minimè," inquit; "quid enim salvi est mulieri, "amissâ pudicitiâ? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in "lecto sunt tuo. Ceterùm corpus est tantùm violatum, "animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dextras "fidemque haud impunè adultero fore. Sex. est "Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte, vi ar- "matus, mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum[67] "hinc abstulit gaudium." Dant ordine omnes fidem. Consolantur ægram animi avertendo noxam ab coactâ in auctorem delicti; mentem peccare[68], non corpus; et, unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos," inquit, "videritis, quid illi debeatur: ego me, etsi pec- "cato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde "impudica, Lucretiæ exemplo, vivet." Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit[69]; prolapsaque in vulnus, moribunda cecidit. Conclamant vir paterque.

LIX. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum, ex vulnere Lucretiæ extractum, manantem cruore præ se tenens, "Per hunc," inquit, "castissimum ante regiam "injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me "L. Tarquinium Superbum, cum scelerata conjuge et "omni liberorum stirpe, ferro, igni, quâcunque dehinc vi "possim, exsecuturum[70]; nec illos, nec alium quenquam, "regnare Romæ passurum." Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit; inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut præceptum erat, jurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum, jam inde ad expugnandum regnum[71] vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiæ corpus in forum[72] deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novæ atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet tum patris mœstitia, tum Brutus, castigator[73] lacrymarum atque inertium querelarum, auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos, deceret, arma capiendi adversùs hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque juvenum cum armis voluntarius adest. Sequitur

et cetera juventus. Inde, pari præsidio relicto Collatiæ ad portas[74], custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus[75] nunciaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti. Ubi eò ventum est, quàcunque incedit, armata multitudo pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus, ubi anteire primores civitatis[76] vident, quicquid sit, haud temere[77] esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romæ tam atrox res facit, quàm Collatiæ fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quò simul ventum est, præco ad tribunum Celerum[78], in quo tum magistratu fortè Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita, nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiæ et miserabili cæde, de orbitate Tricipitini[79], cui morte filiæ causa mortis[80] indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriæque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersæ. "Romanos homines, "victores omnium circà populorum, opifices ac lapicidas "pro bellatoribus factos." Indigna Ser. Tullii regis memorata cædes, et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia; invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque[81], credo, aliis, quæ præsens rerum indignitas, haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia, subjicit, memoratis, incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret[82], exsulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinium cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse, junioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum indè adversùs regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto[83] urbis jam antè ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, exsecrantibus, quàcunque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias[84] viris mulieribusque.

LX. Harum rerum nunciis in castra perlatis, quum re novâ trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus, (senserat enim adventum) ne obvius fieret; eodemque ferè tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam, venerunt. Tarquinio clausæ portæ, exsiliumque indictum[85]; liberatorem urbis læta castra accepêre; exactique indè liberi

regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Cære in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios, tanquam in suum regnum, profectus[86], ab ultoribus veterum simultatum, quas sibi ipse cædibus rapinisque conciverat, est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romæ ab conditâ urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quatuor. Duo consules indè comitiis centuriatis à præfecto urbis ex commentariis[87] Ser. Tullii creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

NOTES TO BOOK I.

CHAP. I.—[20] *Sævitum esse.*] "That cruelty was practised towards the other Trojans—that the Greeks refrained from exercising all the right of war against two, Æneas and Antenor, both on account of an old tie of hospitality, and because," &c. Most MSS. and old editions read *Æneæ Antenorique.* "Jus belli," in Livy, means in general the right which the more powerful party has to exercise his superiority, and also the consequences of exerting such right, viz. punishment by death, slavery, &c., which the laws of war warrant the conqueror in inflicting; in this sense the word is used here.—So, B. 2. c. 12, Porsena says to Scævola, *jure belli liberum te—dimitto,* "I dismiss you released from the punishment, which by the right of war I could inflict on you." Several similar instances of the word occur. *Abstinuit;* so, B. 2. c. 16, "*ne ab obsidibus—iram belli hostis abstinuit.*" So, Hor. B. 2. Sat. 3. 202, "*abstinuit vim uxore et gnatis.*"

[21] *Æneâ.*] Antenor, who was the particular friend of Æneas, entertained Menelaus and Ulysses, when they went as ambassadors (see Il. 3. 207,) to Troy to demand Helen and her property. As a great proof how sacred the laws of hospitality in those days were held, we find Diomedes and Glaucus, when about to engage in mortal combat, parting as devoted friends, on finding that their fathers were pledged to each other by the ties of hospitality.

[22] *Pacis.*] See Il. 7. 348—Æneas and the sons of Antenor commanded the Dardanians, the people who inhabited the country round the city, Il. 2. 819.—Hector commanded the Trojan citizens.

[23] *Casibus variis.*] "Various vicissitudes of fortune." The words apply to Æneas and Antenor, says Crevier; but Walker thinks *variis* means "of a different kind;" for Antenor, immediately on arriving at the country, established a settlement; whereas Æneas, on the contrary, suffered many difficulties by

sea and land, before he effected this object; we know *varius* has this meaning, Horace, B. 2. Sat. 3, "*alterum, et huic varium, et nihilo sapientius.*"

[24] *Henetûm.*] See Il. 2. 851.

[25] *Pagoque inde Trojano nomen est.*] "From this the Trojan canton derives its name." There was a canton of that name in Livy's time. *Pagus* is a tract of territory containing many villages: a *gens*, contained many *pagi*. According to the text, there is here a remarkable instance of variety of construction, not unusual in Livy, as it connects the indicatives *vocatur—est—appellati* (*sunt*) with the preceding infinitives *sævitum esse—abstinuisse—venisse—tenuisse.* Some, for *et in quem,* read *is in quem;* others would reject *et,* and read the following words, down to *appellati* inclusive, in a parenthesis.—Some read *Troja* here for *Trojano.*

[26] *Majora initia rerum.*] The same as *majorum initia rerum,* which some copies read—so, B. 7. c. 2, *parva principia rerum.*

[27] *In Macedoniam venisse.*] These infinitives depend on *constat* in the beginning of the chapter.

[28] *Classe.*] This word shows that he did not go directly from Sicily to the nearest part of Italy, and thence proceed by land to Laurentum; but that he *sailed* direct from Sicily to Laurentum. Livy speaks as a historian, there being no sure historical evidence that Æneas was driven from Sicily to Africa. For *Trojæ,* which is quite in Livy's style, most MSS. and old editions read *Troja.*

[29] *Ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil—superesset.*] "As being persons who had, after their almost boundless wanderings, nothing left."—This he mentions to show why they plundered the country.

[30] *Tradunt.*] On this depend *percunctatum* (*esse*)—*sanxisse*—*ictum* (*esse*)—*factum* (*esse*)—*fuisse*—and *adjunxisse,* which come after.

[31] *Inter primores.*] "Attended by the chief men of his court."

[32] *Admiratum.*] "That he, being struck with admiration *both* at the noble character of the nation and their chief, *and* at their spirit—"

[33] *Fœdus ictum.*] "That a league was struck." The expression is derived from striking or slaying the victim sacrificed on the occasion; it comes from *ico,* "to strike."

Chap. II.—[34] *Cære.*] This was then the most flourishing town of Etruria, and the grand seat of the religion of those days; hence it is said that *cæremoniæ,* "forms of religion," are derived from it.

[35] *Opulento tum.*] This was an opulent town at that time, though not so in Livy's days.

[36] *Quàm satis tutum.*] He thought the growing power of

Æneas' colony would soon destroy his own and all the neighbouring states, *accolis*.

[37] *Sub eodem jure.*] "That they should not only have the same laws, but also the same name."

[38] *Mœnibus.*] "He might, by remaining within his strong walls, bid defiance to the enemy."

[39] *Secundum inde prælium.*] Crevier says, that *secundum* is "the second," and that *ultimum* is opposed to it. But Walker says, that this is contrary to the truth of history, as this was really the first battle between the Trojans and Laurentines, now incorporated under one common name of Latins. He explains the passage thus:—"From this, *i. e.* from his having marched out his forces, there ensued a battle *successful* to the Latins, but one in which Æneas lost his life." So Tacitus, Hist. 4. 79, *secundum prælium fecit.*

[40] *Situs est.*] "Was buried." Hence those who sung over the dead, were called *Siticines.*

[41] *Quemcunque eum dici jus fasque est.*] "*Sive virum, sive heroa, sive deum: religionem vulgarem leviter perstringit Livius,*" says Walker. But others think that this is straining the obvious and natural meaning of the passage, which appears to be:—"By whatever epithet the "human law" *(jus)* and the "divine law" *(fas)* require him to be designated." According to the religion of the Romans, a mortal, raised after death to the rank of a divinity, according to his various attributes and functions, had many names, each of which, at certain times, according to circumstances, he was thought to prefer. So Livy here, in compliance with the national custom or prejudice, observes this religious caution, when speaking for himself; but gives the name which he was commonly called by, *Jovem Indigetem.*

[42] *Super Numicium flumen.*] "Above." "On an eminence over the river Numicius."

[43] *Indigetem.*] "Terrestrial or canonized Jove." Dionysius calls him χθόνιον Θεόν.

CHAP. III.—[44] *Tantisper tutelâ muliebri.*] "So long, under the guardianship of a woman, (so great was Lavinia's talent,) did the Latin state, and the kingdom of his father and grandfather, continue secure for him:"—*i. e.* so long did the people remain firm in their allegiance.

[45] *Haud nihil ambigam—hiccine fuerit Ascanius.*] "I have some doubts whether it was this Ascanius who succeeded his father, or one older than he, who was born of Creüsa, while Troy flourished, and then attended his father in his exile; the same, whom, under the name of Iulus, the Julian family represent as their founder." Another account of this matter is, that Ascanius, the son by Creüsa, was the father of Iulus, though Virgil makes them the same; and that the son by Lavinia was Sylvius (from *Sylva*); because his

mother, after the death of Æneas, fled through fear of Ascanius to the woods, when pregnant, to the protection of the shepherd Tyrrhenus; and that *this* Sylvius, after the death of Ascanius, was raised by the people to the throne of Alba to the exclusion of Iulus. Observe the idiom, *quem Iulum eundem,* for *idem quem.*

46 *Ut tum res erant.*] It was a flourishing city, considering the barbarous condition of those places at that time; he does not mean that it was in a more flourishing condition then than after.

47 *Sub Albano monte.*] *i. e.* The mountain, which, from this city, was afterwards called *Albanus mons. Sub* here, I think, means "close by, at the foot of," as Æn. 5. 323, *sub ipso volat Diores.* There were a number of little hills at the foot of this mountain, called *Albani tumuli,* on the ridge of one of which this city was built; it was not built on what was properly termed *Mons Albanus,* as most commentators seem to think.

48 *Dorso.*] This means the ridge of a hill, or any long and elevated body. Virgil applies the word to a high wave. It was called *longa* from its situation on this hill; why it was called *alba* is uncertain. Virgil says it was from a white sow found there by Æneas.

49 *Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam.*] *i. e.* There was an interval of about thirty years between the building of Lavinium and the leading out of the colony to found Alba.

50 *Fluvius Albula, quem.*] *Quem* here refers to *fluvius; quam,* referring to *Albula,* is another reading.

51 *Coloniæ.*] These colonies, that were sent out, were called *prisci Latini;* the ordinary style would be *appellatæ.*"

52 *Mansit Sylviis postea omnibus cognomen.*] The name of Sylvius continued with all the subsequent kings of Alba. So B. 1. c. 7, *Trojæ loco nomen est*—c. 39, *puero, cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit*—c. 49, *cui Superbo nomen facta indiderunt*—c. 50, *Superbo inditum Romæ cognomen*—B. 2. c. 16, *Attus Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romæ nomen. Sylvius* is the reading of several MSS. and most old editions. *Sylvium,* taken adjectively to agree with *nomen,* is the reading of Lipsius and others; but Gronovius says, that though a proper name may be so joined to *nomen,* when *nomen* means the name of a "family" or "clan," as B. 1. c. 47, *nomen Tarquinium,* B. 2. c. 42, *Fabium nomen,* it cannot, when *nomen* means the name of "an individual."

53 *Celebre ad posteros nomen.*] The new name (the Tiber) was the name that was celebrated in after ages.

54 *Per manus.*] In the regular order of succession; from hand to hand, as we say.

55 *Verecundia ætatis.*] "Reverence due to age," *i. e.* to his priority of birth.

56 *Per speciem honoris.*] "Under the pretext of conferring honour on her."

[57] *Vestalem.*] See ch. 20.

CHAP. IV.—[58] *Debebatur fatis.*] The machinations of Amulius were ineffectual; for the origin of the city, and consequently the birth of Romulus, who was destined to be its founder, was an event that was decreed by the fates. It was due to them; it was a debt that should be paid to them; therefore it was an event which no human power could prevent.—See Æn. 4. 276; 12. 795.

[59] *Secundùm deorum opes.*] "Next to the power of the gods."

[60] *Vi compressa.*] "The vestal being embraced by force." So Gray:

"By Odin's fierce embrace compress'd."

[61] *Seu ita rata.*] "Whether it was that she really imagined it so, or because it was considered more creditable to commit such a crime with a god than with a man." *Proles incerta,* "an illegitimate offspring;" one about the certainty of whose father there is some doubt. *Proles* is a word that refers either to posterity or ancestors.

[62] *Forte quâdam divinitùs, &c.*] "By some chance, which Providence seemed to direct, the river Tiber (was) spread over its banks in one still lake, and could not be approached at the course of its proper and full channel;" its regular channel was inaccessible. *Forte quâdam divinitùs,* like θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ, in Plutarch. Some read *an* or *seu divinitùs,* to mark an opposition between *forte* and *divinitùs.* *Justus,* whatever arrives at its proper height or fulness. In general, whatever is fair, proper, or complete; so Livy often uses these phrases, *justus exercitus, justa ætas, justum prœlium, justus delectus,* and the like.

[63] *Quamvis languidâ—aquâ.*] "In water, however still;" "in water, although calm;"—let the young reader mark that *quamvis* is often used thus.—See ch. 16. n. 99.

[64] *In proximâ alluvie.*] *Alluvies* or *eluvies* is the overflowing or spreading of water above its natural boundaries or banks; here it is the stagnant water on land.—*Illuvies* is the soil or filth cast out.

[65] *Ficus Ruminalis.*] This was afterwards in the middle of the city; it was formerly Romularis, not Ruminalis, which is the modern name; it was the tree under which he was suckled.

[66] *Vulgato corpore.*] "From prostituting her body."

[67] *Inde locum fabulæ.*] This double meaning of *lupa* gave rise to the fable and miracle of the infants being suckled by a wolf.

[68] *Ita geniti.*] See Dionysius, B. 1, and Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, for a full account of their education, recognition by their grandfather, &c.

[69] *Nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes.*] "They did not lead a life of inactivity within their folds, or with their cattle; but, in

hunting parties, scoured the forests that were all around them." *Segnis*, from *se, i. e. sine*, and *gnavus*.

[70] *Subsistere.*] "Checked, resisted;" so, B. 9. c. 31, *Romanum nec acies subsistere ullæ nec castra poterant.*

[71] *Seria.*] Their encounters with robbers and wild beasts; *iocos*, their games and festivals. Some read *ferias*. *Celebrare*, when referred to actions, means to do a thing often and in company with many others.

CHAP. V.—[72] *Lupercal hoc.*] This Lupercal which we celebrate even at this day. This usually meant the "place" on the Aventine Hill, sacred to Pan, sometimes called Faunus, the tutelar divinity of flocks and their keepers: thus Virgil describes him:

> Pan primus calamos cerâ conjungere plures
> Instituit—Pan curat oves oviumque magistros.

So, Hor. B. 1. Od. 17:—

> ——— Faunus et igneam
> Defendit æstatem capellis
> Usque meis, pluviosque ventos.
> * * * *
> Nec virides metuunt colubros
> Nec Martiales hædilia lupos.

Here the word means the "festival" or "game" sacred to him on the 15th of February, when his votaries ran about naked, lashing every person they met with goat-skin thongs, particularly women, who, it was believed, were, by these blows, rendered more prolific, and relieved when in travail. The word comes from *lupus*, "a wolf," and *arceo*, to "ward off." He was called λύκαιος, in Greek, from λύκος, *lupus*. Lyceus, a mountain in Arcadia, was sacred to him, and called from him. Mythologists say that he was called from πᾶν, *omne*, as he was the symbol of the universe. He was usually painted half man and half goat. The epithet *Inuus* was given him, *ab ineundo animalia*, from a belief that flocks and herds were rendered fruitful by his influence.

[73] *Ex eo genere.*] Of that race who inhabited Pallanteum.

[74] *Deditis ludicro, &c.*] "That a band of robbers, enraged against them for having deprived them of some booty, having made a sudden attack on them when engaged in this game, as it was a well known anniversary festival,—"; they fixed on this as a proper time for attack. For *notum* here several editions incorrectly read *votum*.—*Quum Romulus vi se defendisset*, "as Romulus saved himself by a vigorous defence."

[75] *Ultro.*] This word means, contrary to what may be expected or ought to be done. Hor. Od. 4. 4.—*Sectamur ultro quos opimus effugere triumphus.* The robbers, who themselves deserved to be punished, unexpectedly brought the first charge. So Æn. 5. 55, *nunc ultro* (unexpectedly) *ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis—adsumus.*

[76] *Crimini maximè dabant.*] "They made it the principal charge."

[77] *Comparando.*] "By comparing their present age with the time when they were exposed, and the noble disposition and spirit, which they now evinced, with what he would expect from his grandchildren, if alive."

[78] *Sciscitandoque eódem pervenit.*] "By all the inquiries he made he came to the conclusion he did before, that they were his grandchildren, so that he was very near openly acknowledging them;" for it appears, by the attack made on the king, that he acknowledged them privately. Crevier says that *eódem* means "to the same conviction" as Faustulus felt, though he thinks *eò demum* would be a better reading. Some read *eò dein;* in either case *eò* refers to the following words.

[79] *Ita undique regi dolus nectitur.*] *Ita* here (as before, *ita, metu subactus,* and often elsewhere,) means "therefore"—the word "so" in English is sometimes used in this way. This acceptation of *ita* will render it unnecessary to suppose with some, that there is an omission after *agnosceret.*

[80] *Et à domo.*] Remus also assists him with another band brought from the house of Numitor.

CHAP. VI.—[81] *Avocâsset.*] "Called them off" into another quarter, lest they should assist the king. Some inaccurately read *advocâsset.*

[82] *Agmine ingressi.*] "Coming in attended by a body of their guards or followers through the midst of the assembly."

[83] *Secuta ex omni.*] "A succeeding shout of approbation, issuing from the whole multitude, established for him the name and authority of sovereign."

[84] *Qui omnes facilè spem facerent.*] "All of whom freely entertained the hope that Alba and Lavinium would be insignificant in comparison to that city, which was to be built;" or, the words may mean, that "they easily inspired a hope that, &c."

[85] *Principio.*] The amicable arrangement between the two brothers, of determining by auguries who should give a name to the city. Some editors have a full stop at *principio* and only a comma after *regeret.* The arrangement of the present reading is this, *principio, nempe, ut, quoniam—posset, dii legerent,* &c.

[86] *Quorum tutelæ ea loca essent.*] So B. 24. c. 22, *corpus suum, cæteraque omnia, quæ suæ fidei tutelæque essent.* B. 42. c. 19, *petere ut eum non sub hospitum modò privatorum custodiâ, sed publicæ velut curæ atque tutelæ esse vellent.*"—B. 21. c. 41, *pacem cum victis fecimus: tutelæ nostræ* (scil. *esse*) *duximus, cùm Africo bello urgerentur;*—so the phrases *esse juris, esse arbitrii.* Some copies have *in quorum tutelâ.*

[87] *Palatium.*] This is a substantive; its corresponding adjective is *Palàtinus;* so also Aventinus is a substantive, and its adjective is *Aventinensis.*

[88] *Templa.*] This word means "a certain portion of the hea-

vens or earth marked out, in order to take an augury, by the augur uttering a certain form of words:" hence *contemplor*. *Ad inaugurandum*, "to take the omen." Sometimes the verb means "to consecrate a place or person," as in B. 3. ch. 20. *Templa*, "consecrated stands."

[89] *Tempore illi præcepto.*] Remus and his followers claimed the sovereign power from priority of time in seeing the birds; Romulus, from his having seen twice as many as Remus.

[90] *Sic deinde.*] "So perish hereafter, whoever else, &c."

CHAP. VII.—[91] *Condita urbs.*] Rome was built, according to Cato's calculation, on the 11th before the Calends of May, (*i. e.* the 21st of April) the festival of Pales, in the 1st year of the 7th Olymp. B.C. 751; according to Varro, in the 3d of 6th Olymp. B.C. 753. Dodwell endeavours to show that Livy followed Cato.

[92] *Græco, Herculi.*] *i. e. Græco ritu.* Most old copies have *Græco Herculi*, improperly connecting these words.

[93] *Aversos.*] "With their faces turned off in a direction opposite to the cave." *Avertere*, in a former clause, has not this force; it merely means "to turn off," or "drive away."

[94] *Agere porrò.*] "To drive on." *Infestus* is applied to whatever brings evil on another.

[95] *Fidem.*] "The friendly aid." The word has sometimes this meaning.—See Ter. And. 3. 4. 43.

[96] *Auctoritate.*] "More from the high authority and influence that his unstained character and noble qualities gave him, than by any absolute power he had as king."

[97] *Literarum.*] The introduction of letters, which to the uncivilized inhabitants was quite a new thing, procured for him great reverence from their surprising novelty. *Literarum* here means the alphabet. Tacitus, An. 11. 14, states the same fact.

[98] *Carmentæ.*] She was also called Nicostrata.

[99] *Olim.*] "A nation that will hereafter be the most powerful on earth." *Olim* has sometimes this meaning.—See Æn. 1. 293. Quinctil. 10. 1.

[1] *Accipere se omen, impleturumque fata, arâ conditâ atque dicatâ, ait.*] "Says that he accepts the prophetic intimation, and will fulfil the fates, (*i. e.* those fates, which Evander's mother said ordained that he should be worshipped,) by building and dedicating an altar;" *i. e.* an altar to himself.—See B. 9. c. 34. Some would connect *arâ conditâ atque dicatâ* (making the act Evander's) with the following words, and place *ait* after *fata*, or expunge it, for which some MSS. give authority. Dionysius, B. 2, says, that Hercules erected an altar and sacrificed an ox to Jupiter Inventor, on account, I suppose, of having "found" his cattle; and then that Evander, on account of the prediction of his mother, erected another, called *maxima*, to himself, and likewise sacrificed an ox; and that Hercules also offered on it some oxen, and the tithe of his other spoil.

[2] *Eximiâ.*] Like τέλειος in Greek — none but the choicest and best victims were sacrificed. *Eximius*, from *eximo*, "to take out;" for such only were taken out of the flock or herd for sacrifice.

[3] *Potitiis.*] From *potior*, as they were in time enough to "enjoy" the feast. *Pinariis*, from πεινάω, *esurio*, as they were obliged to "fast" on account of their delay. So say the commentators; but it is a question whether it may not be inferred from Livy, that they were so called before the event occurred.

[4] *Antistites.*] These were the chief priests of the temple; from *ante* and *sto*. It generally means a person superior in any thing.

[5] *Servis.*] Executioners, lictors, &c.

CHAP. VIII.—[6] *Jura dedit.*] See Dionysius, B. 2.

[7] *Lictoribus.*] From *ligo*, "to bind," because each carried an axe "tied up" in a bundle of rods, the iron being visible. Their office was to disperse the multitude, to flog, and to behead. Others say the word is derived from their being appointed to bind the hands and feet of criminals.

[8] *Et apparitores hoc genus.*] For *apparitorum hoc genus*, &c. which some would read; so Cicero ad Attic. B. 13, *orationes aut aliquid id genus scribere;* Varro, *coramenta omne genus—omne genus frumento pascuntur.*—It is an idiom common in Latin. "That both this sort of beadles, and the number also of them, were borrowed from the Tuscans." This is the reading and explanation of Gronovius. The following would, says Walker, be a better reading, *quibus ut apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis —numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet*—"who are of opinion that, as even this kind of public servants was derived from the Etrurians, so was the number of them also." The former reading was, *et apparitores et hoc genus*, which must be wrong, as it would appear from it that the kings of Alba had no attendants, until this kind was taken from the Etrurians; but this was not the case. *Apparitores*, from *apparere*, were public servants, that always "appeared" with the magistrates, and attended to and executed their orders.

The *toga* was the characteristic dress of the Romans, as the *pallium* was of the Greeks: it was a loose robe worn over the *tunica*, the coat or jacket which had no sleeves: during war it was exchanged for the *paludamentum*. Magistrates and the sons of the nobility, until the age of seventeen, wore one that had a fringe or border of purple all round, and this was called *toga prætexta*, or "the bordered gown."

[9] *Sella Curulis.*] This was an ivory seat, somewhat in the form of the letter X, supported by four crooked legs, and carried folded up in their chariots (hence *curulis*) originally by kings; afterwards by consuls, dictators, censors, prætors, and chief ædiles (who were thence called curule ædiles,) and on which they sat in the senate house, rostra, and tribunal of justice.

[10] *Ad id quod tum hominum.*] "For that number of persons that was in the city then." *Muniret*, "fortified," made it secure and fit to dwell in.

[11] *Locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit.*] "He opens for an asylum the place called 'between the two groves,' which is now enclosed, and which people meet as they go down to the forum."—That the name itself of the place was called *inter duos lucos* is evident from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, B. 2. p. 88. Χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται νῦν. . . . "μεθόριον δυοῖν δρυμῶν." So Cicero B. 4. ad Attic. Ep. 3, *assequitur inter lucos hominem Milo—Descendentibus*; so B. 32. c. 4, *Thaumaci à Pylis sinuque Meliaco per Samios "eunti," loco alto siti sunt*—B. 42. c. 15, *descendentibus à Cirrhâ maceria erat ab lævâ semitæ.*

[12] *Liber an servus esset.*] "Whether freeman or slave." Scil. *an liber, an servus esset.*—*An* and such particles are frequently omitted in the first clause.—See B. 1. c. 46.

[13] *Consilium parat viribus.*] "He forms or devises a system of government for his strength," or the number of persons he had under his dominion.—*Quum virium haud pœniteret*, "when he was well satisfied with his strength."

[14] *Centum creat senatores.*] The opinion most generally received is, that he only appointed one senator, who was to rule the city in his absence; each of the three tribes, three, and each of the thirty curiæ, three.

[15] *Ciere patres.*] "Name their fathers;" prove their descent from respectable fathers. So B. 10. c. 8. Dionysius, B. 2. p. 88, and Plut. *vita Romuli.* The ancient reading was *creari patres.* Drakenborch would prefer *cieri patres*, "who could be called fathers," or had children.

CHAP. IX.—[16] *Penuriâ mulierum, &c.*] "From the scarcity of women, the present strength of the city was not likely to last longer than the existing generation."

[17] *Nec domi spes prolis.*] This must be understood in a qualified sense, as there must have been some women there.

[18] *Quà.*] "As far as." *Quas*, the common reading, is wrong.

[19] *Id enim demum compar connubium fore.*] *i. e.* That vagabond and abandoned women would be the only wives fit for vagabond slaves and outlaws, like the majority of the Roman citizens.

[20] *Solennes.*] He established games then, which he intended should be solemnized every year in future; he called them the games of Consus, or the god of good counsel, who was the same as Neptune. The temple of Consus was also covered in, to show that good stratagem should be close and concealed. These games at first occupied only one day; their celebration was afterwards extended to nine days, and they were called, by way of eminence, the Roman or great games, and consisted chiefly of

horse and chariot races. They were celebrated in the month of August in the great circus. See ch. 35.—*Equestri Neptuno;* it was Neptune, as the fables say, produced the first horse, in his contest with Minerva about giving a name to, and being considered the patron divinity of, Athens.

[21] *Quantoque apparatu tum sciebant—concelebrant.*] "Solemnize them with all the pomp of preparation they were then acquainted with." The force of the *con* is, that they all contributed their united endeavours to make them as splendid as possible. So B. 8. c. 7.

[22] *Mortales.*] This word is more emphatic than *homines,* as it includes persons of every order, age, and sex.

[23] *A globo Talassii cujusdam.*] "By a body of men that belonged to a certain person of the name of Talassius."

[24] *Inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.*] "That this expression was ever after used in the ceremony of marriage."

[25] *Per fas et fidem decepti.*] They allege that they came, trusting to the reverence due, and generally paid, to the sanctity of religion, this being professedly a religious rite; and also, relying on the faith of hospitality, having been invited to become guests of the Romans; but that in both these expectations they had been deceived. *Per fas et fidem decepti;* so B. 6. c. 29, "*adeste, dii, nobis per vestrum numen deceptis;*" B. 38. c. 25, "*major pars per fidem violati colloquii pœnas morte luerunt.*"

[26] *Melioribus usuras viris.*] "They would find them better husbands, than if they married them voluntarily; as each of them would to the utmost of his power endeavour, in discharging, so far as his part was concerned, the duty and relation of husband, to make amends to his wife for the loss of country and parents." *Suam vicem,* i. e. *secundùm suam vicem,* for *pro suâ vice.* Cæsar, B. G. 4. 1, uses *magnam partem* for *magnâ ex parte.* Some copies read in this passage *suâ vice.*—Dionysius, B. 2, says that six hundred and eighty-three women were carried off.

CHAP. X.—[27] *Legationes eò conveniebant.*] "Embassies crowded thither," *i. e.* to Tatius, who was king of Cures, a powerful state and town of the Sabines.

[28] *Injuriæ pars.*] *Præcipua,* or some such word, must be understood.

[29] *Præ ardore, &c.*] In comparison with the Cæninenses, the Crustumini and Antemnates were inactive and slow.

[30] *Nomen Cæninum.*] "The people of Cænina." *Cæninus* is the same as *Cæninensis,* an adjective.

[31] *Feretri.*] So called from the bier, *feretrum,* (from *fero*) on which the spoils of king Acron were "carried" by him to the oak held sacred by the shepherds, *pastoribus sacram,* that he might there consecrate them to Jupiter.

[32] *Opimis.*] This word, derived from *ops,* a name given to the earth, the source of all wealth, properly means, whatever is rich and well conditioned; hence, in general, whatever is excel-

lent and superior in its kind. The *spolia opima* were the arms which a Roman commander took from the general of the enemy, whom he slew in battle. The *spolia opima* were gained only three times during the history of the republic; the first, by Romulus, from Acron; the second, by Corn. Cossus, from Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, A. U. C. 318; the third, by Marcellus, from Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, A. U. C. 530.

[33] *Laturos ea spolia.*] Several MSS. and old copies read *eò* for *ea*, from which it would be inferred that "any" spoils might be carried thither; but *ea* shows that "these" spoils "only" were to be carried thither.

[34] *Vulgari laudem.*] "Nor the honour made common, and thereby depreciated, by the 'number' of those who enjoyed it."

[35] *Inter tot annos.*] "During so many years."—Some MSS. and copies incorrectly read *intra* for *inter*, i. e. within: *intra, citra, ultra,* always mean a "limit" of time or place.

Chap. XI.—[36] *Per occasionem et solitudinem.*] "Seizing the opportunity when the Roman territories were left deserted and unguarded."

[37] *Et ad hos Romana legio ducta.*] "A Roman legion led against these too;" *i. e.* as well as against the Cæninenses. *Legio* from *legere,* "to choose;" because the men were chosen man by man. A legion was divided into 10 cohorts, each cohort into 3 *manipuli,* each *manipulus* into two centuries. In the time of Romulus it consisted of but 3000 foot and 300 horse; but, after the time of Marius, it consisted, when complete, of 6000 foot and about 600 horse.

[38] *Ibi minus etiam.*] Little difficulty as he found in conquering the Antemnates, he had even less with the Crustuminians.

[39] *In Crustuminium nomina darent.*] *i. e.* To give their names to be enrolled in the colony to be sent to Crustuminium. It appears Crustuminium and Crustumerium are used indifferently to signify the capital of the Crustumini.

[40] *Et Romam inde, &c.*] The frequent emigrations from this place to Rome, chiefly of the parents and relations of the Sabine women, was another reason why there was a prejudice in favour of going to it.

[41] *Sabinis.*] The people of Cures. It appears the other little states that were conquered were not really Sabines. Pliny, B. 3. c. 5, says they were Latins.

[42] *Nec ostenderunt, &c.*] *i. e.* Their attack was simultaneous with their first indication of hostility.

[43] *Seu prodendi exempli causâ, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset.*] "Or for the sake of 'betraying' an example, that no faith should ever be placed in a 'betrayer.'"—*Prodendi* and *proditoris* here appear to have different significations; but these

significations are really only different emanations from the original meaning of *prodere,* which is, "to give forth," "to discover," to show what was kept faithfully concealed; the verb "betray," in English, is susceptible of the same modifications.

[44] *Additur fabulæ.*] "An addition is made to the story, that because the Sabines, &c." *Fabula* is another reading.

[45] *Pepigisse.*] "That she bargained for."

[46] *Directó.*] "In express terms."—*Decreto* and *delecto* are the readings of several MSS. and old editions.

CHAP. XII.—[47] *Tamen.*] However, be the story about her what it may, the Sabines held the hill.

[48] *Quod—campi est.*] "The whole of the plain that is, &c.

[49] *Non priùs descenderunt in æquum, quàm in adversum Romani subiêre.*] "They no sooner descended into the level plain than the Romans advanced against them;" like *nec ostenderunt,* &c. note 42 ch. 11.—*Descendere—subire,* which amount to the same, are other readings.

[50] *Hostus Hostilius.*] Dionysius, B. 2. p. 108, calls him Lucumo Tuscus; Varro, B. 4. p. 16, says, that one of the centuries of horse derived its name from him.

[51] *Scelere emptam.*] Alluding to the treacherous way in which they induced the daughter of Tarpeius to admit them.

[51*] *Statori.*] From *statum,* sup. of *sisto,* "to check or stop."

[52] *Primores.*] The van; the word is used in this sense by Tacitus.—Hist. 3. c. 21.

[53] *Toto quantum foro spatium est.*] "Had driven the routed Romans over the whole space that the forum now occupies."

[54] *Eo pelli facilius.*] Because, if the horse was once wounded or put to flight, he could not command him or keep his ground.

[55] *Trepidante equo.*] "The horse taking fright." *Conjecit sese;* he was on horseback at the time.—See note 64. c. 13.

[56] *Adverterat.*] The circumstance arrested the attention of the flying Sabines also, as well as of the Romans; *averterat,* which is evidently incorrect, is the reading of most old copies.

[57] *Favore.*] "From the encouraging shouts of acclamation raised by many of his friends, he got additional spirit, and escaped."

CHAP. XIII.—[58] *Mulieres, quarum ex injuriâ bellum ortum.*] Let the reader observe that *injuria,* followed by a genitive, sometimes means injury offered "to" the person expressed by that genitive, as here; sometimes, injury offered "by" that person.

[59] *Victo malis muliebri pavore.*] "The timidity natural to women being now overcome by their sense of their calamities."

[60] *Ne parricidio macularent partus suos.*] "Not to affix the stain of murder," *i. e.* of being the descendants of murderers, upon the offspring they themselves were then bearing in their wombs, one side (the Sabines) on their grandchildren, the other (the Romans) on their children." *Parricidium,* the murder of a father, relation, or any citizen. *Nepotum et liberûm progeniem,*

is the same as *nepotes et liberos*. So in Greek, *υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, παῖδες ἰατρῶν*, &c. for *Ἀχαιοὶ, ἰατροὶ*, &c.

[61] *Si affinitatis inter vos.*] This sudden and unexpected transition from the third to the second person is strongly expressive of the hurry and ardour of the speaker; it is considered a great beauty in poetry. See instances of it in the notes on ch. 57.

[62] *Viduæ aut orbæ.*] Widows, if we lose our husbands; orphans, if we lose our fathers.

[63] *Tamen.*] "However, that some benefit may be conferred on the Sabines by the union," Rome having derived the chief advantage from it.

[64] *Ubi primùm ex profundâ emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellârunt.*] "As a memorial of that battle, they called the place, where his horse, after having emerged from the deep morass, placed Curtius in a shallow (*i. e.* a safe) place, *lacus Curtius.*" The place afterwards retained this name even when filled up and dry. Livy. B. 7. c. 6, gives another reason for the name, viz. that it was called from Curtius springing in armed and on horseback, several hundred years after, into a gulph that suddenly opened in the forum; it being imagined that it would not close until an offering was made of what was most valuable in the state, *i. e.* a warrior armed and on horseback. *Equum Curtius . . . statuit* is another reading.—Sigonius would read *equum Curtius in vado destituit*, because Plutarch says, *καὶ ἐάσας τὸν ἵππον, ἑαυτὸν ἔσωσε.* But Livy and Plutarch may give different accounts of the occurrence, by following different authorities.

[65] *Curias triginta.*] First, he divided the whole body of the people into three tribes, (so called either from their number, or the tribute which they paid,) and each tribe, into ten curiæ.

[66] *Nomina earum curiis imposuit.*] Varro and Plutarch deny this fact.

[67] *Id non traditur, &c.*] "As the number of Sabine women was undoubtedly somewhat greater than this number of *curiæ*, it is not handed down to us whether they, who should give names to the *curiæ*, were appointed from their age, &c."

[68] *Ramnenses, &c.*] These were the names of the three tribes from which these centuries were taken. The Ramnenses were those who came with Romulus from Alba; Tatienses, those who came with Tatius; Luceres were all other strangers, so called, either from Lucumo, a Tuscan, who joined Romulus with a powerful force; (see c. 12, n. 50;) or from *lucus*, "the grove or asylum" to which most of those foreigners had at first fled for protection. Dion, who is followed by Plutarch in his Life of Romulus, says, that the people were divided into tribes before this. It would, says Crevier, appear from Livy, that this was the first time the division was made. The two authors may be thus reconciled, by supposing that, though the division was made before, yet, as by

the accession of Tatius' men the number was considerably increased, a new division was made, and names given to the tribes anew.

CHAP XIV.—[69] *Jure gentium agerent.*] They wanted to demand that right, which the law of nations grants to the injured, *i. e.* the right of address; but Tatius was too partial to his people to grant it, and therefore the vengeance, which was levelled against them, he brought by his conduct upon himself.

[70] *Infidam societatem.*] Because partnership in sovereign power is never kept up with fidelity or friendship. This seems to contradict what was said at the close of the last ch. *concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.* The contradiction may be thus explained:—Though there was apparent concord, yet there was latent distrust; or, though at first they agreed together, they afterwards quarrelled.

[71] *Expiarentur legatorum injuriæ, &c.*] As a league was always struck with sacrifices and other rites of religion, it was considered necessary, whenever either party violated it by any outrage, to expiate the crime by new sacrifices and new religious rites, and go through the form of striking another league. Glareanus asks how this guilt could be expiated by the simple renewal of a league; and Sigonius says, that either there is some omission in the text, as the ceremony of expiation, which Dionysius and Plutarch mention, is not here described, or that the ceremony is contained in the word *fœdus.* But Gronovius well observes, that Livy does not speak here of a "religious" expiation, when atonement was made to the gods, but of a "civil" expiation, (as there were two kinds,) where atonement is made to injured man. Both parties here suffered injury from each other; this was mutually redressed, and the ties of friendship renewed.

[71*] *Et cum his.*] "With these also," as well as with the Sabines, "there was an unexpected peace."

[72] *Prope se.*] The commentators think these words should be expunged.

[73] *Occupant bellum facere.*] "They anticipate the Romans, and are the first themselves to make war."

[74] *Vastatur agri quod—est.*] "All the territory that lies between the city and Fidenæ is laid waste."

[75] *Arcebat.*] "Served as a barrier to the Romans against them."

[76] *Mille passuum.*] Scil. *ad mille passuum. Mille* here is a substantive governing *passuum. Mille passuum, mille hominum,* and the like, are the same as *mille passus, mille homines,* &c.

[77] *Locis circà densa ob sita virgulta obscuris.*] "In the places round about, which were dark on account of the thick brushwood that grew there."—Some connect *circa* with *obscuris;* some with *sita.*—The general reading is, *circa densa obsita virgulta,* which Crevier thus explains; "among the thick shrubs that were planted

all about," *obsita: circa* sometimes means "in" or "among." In English, "about" has sometimes the same force as "among." However he says, that *obsitus* is rather applied to a "place" planted, than to trees or shrubs planted. Gronovius corrects the passage thus:—"*denso obsitis virgulto obscuram.*"

[78] *Adequitando ipsis prope portis.*] "By riding up almost to the very gates." So B. 10. c. 32.—B. 22. c. 42.

[79] *Transversam invadunt hostium aciem.*] "Attack the enemy's army in flank."

[80] *Simulantes . . . secuti erant.*] *Simulantes* is the object of *secuti erant.* Walker would prefer *quà* to *qui, i.e.* in the direction through which.

[81] *Irrumpit.*] Dionysius says, that a colony was sent at this time to Fidenæ.—See c. 27.

Chap. XV.—[82] *Vejentium animi.*] "In the contagion of the Fidenatian war (which spread to them) the minds of the Vejentes were exasperated, both on account of the proximity of blood, and because, &c." According to the common reading there was only a comma after *stimulabat,* and *animi* was made the subject to *excucurrerunt;* some read *invitati* for *irritati.*

[83] *Justi belli.*] "A fair and regular war."

[84] *Dimicationi ultimæ.*] "A final and decisive conflict."

[85] *Nullâ arte adjutis.*] As was the case in their attack upon the Fidenates. See last chap. Some incorrectly read *parte* for *arte.*

[86] *Mulctatis.*] "Deprived by fine or penalty." Some copies connect *in centum annos* with *mulctatis,* or *multatis.*

[87] *Hæc ferme gesta.*] "These were almost all the events that occurred, &c."

[88] *Nihil absonum fidei divinæ originis, &c.*] "There was no part of Romulus's character, that did not warrant the belief of his divine origin and divinity; neither his spirited recovery of his father's kingdom, nor his wisdom in building the city, or afterwards strengthening and protecting it in war and peace." *Absonum,* "jarring with."

[89] *Viribus datis.*] The power which Romulus gave it.

[90] *Celeres.*] *Vel à celeritate; vel à κέλης, eques.* These were afterwards the knights.—See B. 2. c. 1. n.

Chap. 16.—[91] *His immortalibus editis operibus.*] Crevier says the reading should be *mortalibus.* "*Respiciebat enim* (he says) *Livius Romuli divinitatem, cui opponit mortalia ejus opera.*" Sic c. 2, "*secundum inde prælium Latinis, Æneæ etiam ultimum operum 'mortalium' fuit.*"

[92] *Patribus.*] Supply *dicentibus.*

[93] *Orbitatis.*] Such consternation as seizes persons on the loss of a parent.

[94] *Salvere Romulum jubent.*] "Bid Romulus hail."

[95] *Pacem precibus exposcunt.*] *Pacem deum poscere,* or *exposcere,* are words often found in the classics to signify "to ask

for the divine favour." They now pray to Romulus as a god. Some copies omit *pacem.*

[96] *Volens propitius.*] "Willingly and propitiously;" a form of words usual in prayer.

[97] *Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos.*] "Then too;" *i.e.* as well as afterwards, when it was the generally received opinion among the rational. Dionysius, Valerius, Maximus, Plutarch, and others, state the fact; to this Tarquinius Superbus alludes, c. 49, when he says that Romulus was never buried.

[98] *Pavor præsens.*] The awe they felt at the time naturally led them to a superstitious belief that he was carried to heaven.

[99] *Gravis quamvis magnæ rei auctor,* &c.] "Weighty authority for any fact, however important it might be."

[1] *Contra intueri fas esset.*] "That it may be allowed without sustaining any injury to look him in the face." The ancients had a belief that it was not safe for a mortal to look at a divinity.

N. B. In page 17, of text, line 9, for *Romani* read *Romanis.*

[2] *Mirum, quantum . . . fidei fuerit.*] Most editions read *fides.* Though *mirum quantùm, immane quantùm,* and such expressions, are highly classical, when used by way of parenthesis; as in Greek, *θαυμαστὸν ὅσον, ἀμήχανον ὅσον,* yet Walker thinks they are joined always to an indicative; as, *id mirum quantùm profuit ad concordiam,* B. 2. c. 1; and that we must either read *mirum quantùm illi fides fuit,* or adopt the present reading. Some would read *quanta fides.* Duker says *quantùm fides* may be justified by taking *quantum* to be the same as *in quantum;* so we find *parum fidem, satis otium, satis tempus habere.*

CHAP. XVII.—[3] *Necdum ad singulos . . . pervenerat.*] Understand *certamen regni ac cupido;* the original reading was *à singulis . . . pervenerant factiones.*

[4] *In societate æquâ.*] Though both enjoyed an even share in the rights and privileges of government.

[5] *Regnari tamen omnes volebant.*] So Plutarch, in his life of Numa, says, *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν ἐδόκει πᾶσιν.* *Regem* and *regnare* are other readings.

[6] *Centum patres.*] Dionysius says the senate at this time consisted of two hundred, as one hundred had been added by Tatius to the old senate of one hundred.

[7] *Decuriis.*] "Decury," was a name often given to a number greater than ten.

[8] *Imperium.*] The opinion of Dionysius, who says *imperium* here means each senator's power, seems entitled to greater credit than that of Plutarch, who says it means each Decury's power; for, whenever an interrex was at any after period appointed, (as was often the case when there was no chief magistrate,) his power lasted five days, and no longer.

[9] *Nec ultra, nisi regem . . . videbantur passuri.* "They did not seem likely any longer to submit to any one but a king, and that king appointed by themselves.'

[10] *Gratiam ineunt, &c.*] "They gain favour with the people by rendering up the sovereign power; but in such a way as to retain as much as they surrendered."

[11] *Auctores fierent.*] "If they give it the sanction of their authority."

[12] *Idem jus.*] The same form of law is retained; but it lost its power, as, by the Publian and Mænian laws, the patricians were bound to ratify every decree of the people.—See B. 8. c. 12.

[13] *In incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt.*] *i. e.* Even when the decision of an election is uncertain, the patricians beforehand gave the sanction of their authority to whatever measure may be afterwards carried.

[14] *Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit.*] "A thing which I pray may be advantageous, auspicious, and fortunate." This is a usual form used in prayer before entering on any business.—See Brisson, B. 1.

CHAP. XVIII.—[15] *Centum ampliùs post annos.*] "More than a hundred years after."

[16] *Æmulantium studia.*] Adopting his principles or tenets. So Cicero pro Murenâ, c. 29, "*Zeno, cujus inventorum æmuli Stoici nominantur.*"—Tacit. Hist. B. 3. c. 81, *Studia philosophiæ et placita studiorum æmulatus.*

[17] *Ex quibus locis, quæ fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguæ commercio—quenquam excivisset? &c.*] "From which distant places what report of his great talents extending as far as the Sabines, or by means of what intercourse of language, even though he did live in the same age, could have excited any one to a desire of learning? or under what protection could an individual, &c." This is rather unusual, and no simple Latin. The distance between the places was so considerable, and the intercourse between them so little, on account of the difference of language in these barbarous times, (for in these cities Greek was the language,) that it was not likely that the reputation of Pythagoras could have reached the Sabines, or that any Sabine would have gone to him; *aut* I think shows that different reasons are implied in *quibus locis,* and *commercio linguæ. Quâ famâ* is the reading of several old and respectable copies, in which case *Pythagoras* must be the subject to *excivisset.*—Grovonius, as quoted by Drakenborch, would read *quâ famâ tum Sabinos,* &c. Others would transpose *in Sabinos,* and read the passage thus: *quâ famâ, aut quo. . . .excivisset; quove præsidio. . . . in Sabinos pervenisset?*

[18] *Ingenio.*] His own innate qualities.

[19] *Ad lævam ejus, capite velato.*] "The augur, with his head covered, took his station on the king's left." The augur faced the east, and the king the south.—Plutarch says the augur stood behind him, αὐτὸς δὲ παραστὰς ἐξόπισθεν. The words, *signum contra, quò longissimè oculi ferebant,* show that the augur's eyes were

not covered. Some would read *ad lævam, ejus capite velato,* to show that it was Numa's head that was covered.

[20] *Regiones.*] A certain space marked out by his eye. It was necessary that the appearance, or sign, from which he was to draw his omen, should present itself to him within this space.

[21] *Contra.*] Opposite to him; at the utmost extent of his view.

[22] *Uti.*] *Scil. precor uti. Adclarâssis* for *acclaraveris,* "that you would manifest."

[23] *Peregit.*] "He stated in express words."

CHAP. XIX.—[24] *Jure eam legibus.*] *Eam* here is superfluous. Livy often uses such redundancies, in imitation of the Greeks. Several copies omit *eam.*

[25] *Efferatos militiâ animos.*] Some books have *efferos—animos;* some *efferari—animos;* some *efferatis—animis.*

[26] *Janum ad infimum Argiletum.*] "A temple to Janus at the foot of Argiletus." This was a little eminence to the east of the Palatine Hill, so called from Argus, who was murdered there, Ἄργον ἑλεῖν. Or perhaps from *letum,* "death."

[27] *Bellum Actiacum.*] It appears that Livy began his work about this time, (as the temple was shut five years after, on the defeat of the Cantabrians;) but did not finish it until about twenty years after this event, as the death of Drusus, which happened twenty-one years after this battle, is mentioned in the epitome to the last book.

[28] *Ad cursum lunæ.*] "He divides the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon; which year (because the moon does not fill up the number of thirty days in each month, and some days are wanting to make up the complete year, which is brought round by the sun's revolution) he so regulated, by inserting intercalary months, that every twenty-fourth year (the space of all the intermediate years being then filled up) the days coincided with the same position of the sun from which they had set out." For a full and satisfactory account of the change introduced by Numa, and indeed of the Roman calendar in general, see the calendar prefixed to the proper names in the late larger edition of Ainsworth's Dictionary.

CHAP. XX.—[29] *Dialem flaminem.*] "The priests of Jupiter," from Διός. The *flamen* could not divorce his wife, and she shared in his sacred office. He was so called from *filus* or *pileus;* because he wore a cap which had a tuft of wool on the top of it. In summer, when the cap was too distressing to wear, he wore a woollen thread wound round his head.

[30] *Sacra regiæ vicis.*] "Those sacred rites which belonged to the king's office."

[31] *Quirino.*] This is the Mars who was thought to preside over peace, and was the same as the deified Romulus, and was worshipped inside the city; the Mars who was the president of

war, had his temple outside the city. He was usually called Mars Gradivus; so called either from *gradior*, "to stalk as a warrior," or from *κραδάω*, "to brandish." Homer's description corresponds with this:

Βῆ δὲ μακρὰ βιβὰς, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.

[32] *Virginesque Vestæ, &c.*] He elected four; Tarquinius Priscus added two more. At the period of their election they could not be younger than the age of six years, nor older than ten; for thirty years, during which time they were bound to officiate, they could not marry. After the expiration of that time they might marry.

[33] *Pontificem deinde Numam.*] The *pontifex maximus* is here meant; for there were four *pontifices* at first created, whose number was afterwards increased. Many copies read Numa, *i. e.* Pompilius.

[34] *Sacra exscripta exsignataque, &c.*] He gave him a written and sealed copy of those institutions that concerned all the sacred rites. Crevier says, *exsignata* means "bearing the same seal as the original copy."

[35] *Susciperentur atque curarentur.*] "Should be attended to and expiated."—There were some prodigies of such a nature as to be disregarded.—Some think *procurarentur* (as this is the word generally, if not always, used in this sense by Livy) should be the reading here.

[36] *Deum consulit, &c.*] "Consulted the god by auguries respecting what prodigies should be attended to."

CHAP. XXI.—[37] *Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque.*] This clause depends on the following *multitudine . . . . conversâ.*

[38] *Proximo—metu.*] "Their dread of laws and punishment being next or secondary, or inferior to their religious scruples." In Crevier's edition, and others of character, the words are *proximè—metum*—"next to the fear of law and punishment." But Livy's meaning is directly the opposite to this; he says that their dread of laws and punishment was inferior, in its influence on their conduct, to their regard for good faith and the obligation of an oath; and not the contrary, as Crevier says. The readings and opinions on this passage are various—for *proximo* several copies read *pro ipso*, to make the sentence agree with what Ovid says, Fast. B. 1. v. 251.

Proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat.

Others have *propulso* for *proximo.*

[39] *Quum ipsi se homines . . . . formarent, tum finitimi.*] *Quum*, when followed by its corresponding *tum*, usually governs an indicative; sometimes, however, a subjunctive.—See B. 3. c. 34. —B. 4. c. 60.—B. 8. c. 21.

[40] *Soli fidei.*] These words, Walker thinks, must be con-

sidered as one compound word, like *solicuria, soliferrea, solitaurilia,* and mean "public faith," or the faith which the whole state pledges. The old word *solus,* or *sollus,* among the Osci, meant the same as the Greek ὅλος. Others say *soli* is *seorsum à reliquis deabus.* A religious ceremonial was instituted to the muses conjointly; and an anniversary sacrifice was appointed to Faith by herself. Others for *soli* would read *simul.*

[41] *Curru arcuato.*] "A roofed chariot."

[42] *Sedemque etiam.*] "And that even its seat in the right hand was consecrated."

[43] *Argeos.*] Argei is the same as Argivi, so called from some chiefs who came with Hercules the Argive, and were buried in those places, according to Festus and Varro. Many places, even after the abolition of those sacrifices, still retained the name.

[44] *Duo deinceps reges.*] "Two kings in succession."

[45] *Temperata.*] "Attempered."

CHAP. XXII.—[46] *Infimâ arce.*] "At the bottom of the citadel."—See c. 12.

[47] *Patres auctores facti.*] "The fathers gave it the sanction of their authority."

[48] *Comiter regis convivium celebrant.*] "With good-humoured politeness partake of the king's hospitality."

[49] *Res repetiverant priores.*] "Were the first to demand restitution."

[50] *Bellum in trigesimum diem indixerant.*] Livy, c. 32, says, that war was not usually proclaimed for thirty-three days. Though Dionysius agrees with him here, yet perhaps he uses only a round number, or there was here some deviation from the regular rule.

[51] *Expetant hujusce clades belli.*] "Require atonement of that people for all the havoc of this war." Crevier and others take this verb in a neuter signification, thus: "that all the calamities of this war may fall or recoil upon that people." The verb is elsewhere found in this sense, as Plaut. Amphitr. Act 1. sc. 2. v. 32, *delictum suum, suamque culpam expetere in mortalem ut sinat.* Act 5. 1. 75, *illius ira in hanc et maledicta expetent.* Act 2. 1. 42, *cujus ego hodie in tergo faxo ista expetant mendacia.* They accordingly imagine that in next c. n. 54, the word *pœnas* should be expunged, and *expetiturum* taken in the same sense as here. Others would in that passage read *expetituras pœnas.*

CHAP. XXIII.—[52] *Hæc nunciant domum Albani.*] *Nunciare* means to "bring" news "to" a place. So B. 3. c. 2.—B. 5. c. 36.—B. 9. c. 6.—B. 38. c. 18. *et alibi.*

[53] *Deorum numen, &c.*] "Frequently asserting that the great power of the gods, which had already begun with the head (*i. e.* by cutting off the king), would take vengeance on the whole Alban nation for this impious war." He calls it impious, as they

violated religion by refusing to make just restitution.—See last c. n. 51.

[54] *Ducit quàm proximè ad hostem potest.*] *i. e.* He encamps, or leads his troops, as near the enemy as possible.—Gronovius would prefer *quà proximè, i. e.* he marches by the nearest or shortest possible road.—So B. 9. c. 44.

[55] *Afferri rebatur.*] Faber, followed by Drakenborch, proposed this reading; the general reading is *afferebantur.*

[56] *In aciem educit.*] "Leads forth into line of battle."

[57] *Et ego regem, &c.*] The construction is, "I both fancy I heard our king Cluilius declare that injuries, &c.; and I doubt not that you declare the same." *Præ se ferre* is understood to the first clause.

[58] *Neque, rectè, an perperam, interpretor.*] "I do not judge whether that was right or wrong; let that consideration rest with him who commenced the war," *i. e.* Tullus.

[59] *Etrusca res.*] "How powerful the Etrurian state is about us, and especially about you, you know better than we, as you are nearer to them."

CHAP. XXIV.—[60] *Trigemini fratres.*] "Three brothers born at one birth." Some maintain a distinction between *trigemini* and *tergemini*: the first, they say, is applied only to three animals born at one birth; the second not only has this signification, but is also applied to other things, as *tergemina victoria, tergemini honores, &c.* Dionysius says, the Horatii and Curiatii were cousin-germans, the sons of two sisters.

[61] *Nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior.*] *Res nobilior,* a more celebrated or better known event.

[62] *Auctores utroque trahunt.*] So we literally say in common phraseology, "authors pull both ways;" *i. e.* give both statements, one one, and another another.

[63] *Cujusque populi.*] "Of whichever nation." *Quique* is here used for *quicumque;* so *quandoque* for *quandocunque.*

[64] *Aliis legibus.*] On different terms or conditions.

[65] *Fecialis.*] This was a priest whose peculiar office it was to declare war, and strike truces (from *ferire,*) with the proper ceremonies. Dionysius says it was Numa, and Livy says it was Ancus, who first instituted this office.—See c. 32.

[66] *Patre patrato.*] He was called *patratus* from *patro,* "to execute or ratify," because his duty was to attend the making of the treaty, and ratify it by oath; and he had the title of *pater* from his authority.

[67] *Sagmina.*] Vervain—*qu. sancimina, à sancio.* It was a species of herb used for religious purposes, plucked up by the roots out of consecrated ground, *loco sancto.* It was carried by ambassadors to protect them from violence; on this occasion the *pater patratus* made a garland of it.

[68] *Puram.*] *Scil. herbam,* or *verbenam,* vervain.

[69] *Quiritium.*] Is put in apposition with *pop. Romani.*

[70] *Vasa.*] "Do you, my implements and attendants?" *i. e.* do you include them in my sacred commission and privileges?

[71] *Quod sine fraude meâ fiat, facio.*] "I do appoint you, and may it be without injury to me and the Roman people, the Quirites." *Fraus* is a loss sustained by treachery, or even in any other way.

[72] *Multisque id verbis.*] "And this (the truce) he executes in a great many words, which being expressed in a long set form, (*carmine*) it is not worth while to repeat."

[73] *Ut illa palam.*] "As those conditions, both first and last, have been publicly recited out of those tables or that wax, (*i. e* whether bare table or covered with wax,) without any wicked treachery, and as they have been understood, &c.

[74] *Defexit.*] For *defecerit.*

[75] *Tu illo die Jupiter.*] The reading in most MSS. was, *tum ille dies Jupiter.* Whence Sigonius and others would read *tum ille diespiter,* scil. *diei pater.*

[76] *Hunc porcum.*] This is masc. and femin.; it means here a sow, which was the animal offered in such sacrifices; *hanc,* another reading, is a better word.

[77] *Saxo silice.*] "A large flint stone." *Saxo,* it is said, expresses the size, and *silice* the hard quality of the stone.

Chap XXV.—[78] *Et suopte ingenio.*] "Both courageous from their own natural disposition, and animated by the shouts, &c."

[79] *Imperium agebatur.*] "Sovereign power was at stake."— Let the young reader observe, that *agor* is often used thus, as *res, fortuna, honor, agitur.*

[80] *Itaque ergo.*] Livy often uses such synonymous words as these; so, *jam nunc, ita sic, &c.*

[81] *Minimè gratum spectaculum.*] This was far from being a show calculated to amuse, such as a show of gladiators, or the like.

[82] *Nec his nec illis periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo.*] *Sed* is understood before *publicum,* an omission not unusual in Livy in passages like this. Some late copies introduce it, though it is not to be found in the best MSS. and old editions.

[83] *Perstringit.*] "Stuns;" or "wrings." *Torpebat,* "was suspended."

[84] *Telorum armorumque.*] "Weapons and armour." *Arma* from *armus,* "the shoulder," or *ἄρω,* "to fit on," meant what protected the body. *Tela,* from *τῆλε, procul,* properly meant "missile weapons." *Arma* was a general epithet to express every thing that defended the person, and annoyed the enemy; but it was often taken in a limited sense, as here, to signify defensive armour, and is then opposed to *tela.* So *cognatus* properly meant any relation by blood, and was often taken in a limited sense to

signify a relation by the mother, and was then opposed to *agnatus,* a relation by the father. *Grex,* a collection of any animals, was often restricted to a collection of smaller animals; such as sheep, goats, birds, &c. to distinguish it from *armentum,* a herd of larger animals; such as horses, oxen, &c. *Adoptio,* the adoption, in any way, of any person by another, as heir, lest his name and rights should be lost, was taken in a particular sense to signify the adoption of a person yet under his father's control, which was performed before a magistrate with the same formalities as were used by a father in making his son free, (which was called *emancipatio,*) and was then opposed to *arrogatio,* which was the adoption of one who was his own master, (*sui juris,*) and was made at the *com. cur.* by proposing a bill to the people, *per populi rogationem.*

[85] *Exanimes vice unius.*] Literally "frightened out of their lives at the lot of this one man."—Many copies read *vicem,* scil. *secundùm vicem.*—The word, which means one's lot, turn, condition, or situation, is, no doubt, frequently used thus; but I apprehend it will not, according to the rules of good Latinity, be considered admissible here in the accusative.

[86] *Segregaret pugnam eorum.*] Might divide their assault; might induce them to attack him separately.

[87] *Ex insperato faventium.*] This word *fav.* is often applied to the favouring acclamations of the circus. The shout is greatest then, when he, who was supposed to be conquered, becomes unexpectedly conqueror.

[88] *Victusque fratrum ante se strage.*] *i. e.* His courage failed him when he saw his brothers slain. *Strages* from *sterno,* according to some, properly applies to the felling of trees; according to others, the laying of corn flat by a storm.

[89] *Quò prope metum res fuerat.*] "According to the quickness with which it succeeded fear;" for joy immediately succeeded fear, and therefore was more lively. Some read *propiùs.*

[90] *Et ut pugnatum.*] Their sepulchres were in different places, and according to the separate ground which each occupied as he fought and fell.

CHAP. XXVI.—[91] *Princeps Horatius ibat.*] "Horatius marched in front of the Romans."

[92] *Paludamento.*] This word, though properly a general's cloak, is often used to signify any soldier's garment.

[93] *Immaturo amore.*] "Premature love;" because she had not been married to him. According to others, the words signify "ill-timed, unseasonable love."

[94] *Quæcunque Romana lugebit hostem.*] "Whatever Roman women will lament an enemy."—*Romanum hostem* is the reading of many MSS. and old copies, but is not, I think, pure Latin.

[95] *Recens meritum facto obstabat.*] "Thwarted or outweighed

the act; counterbalanced its enormity." So B. 2, c. 2, *id officere, id obstare, libertati.*

[96] *Qui Horatio perduellionem judicent.*] "I appoint Duumviri, as the law directs, to pass sentence, in this case of murder, against Horatius." *Perduellio* is properly treason, and includes murder; for any one, who killed a citizen, was considered as guilty of treason against the state. Gronovius says we should read *perduellionis;* as we find *alicui capitis judicare, pecuniæ judicare,* &c.

[97] *Carminis.*] This word often, as here, means a set form of words.—See c. 24. 32.

[98] *Provocatione certato.*—"Try the thing by appeal."

[99] *Infelici arbori.*] "A barren tree." Most interpreters say the word *infelix* is applied to trees from which criminals were hanged.

[1] *Pomarium.*] See c. 44, qu. *post murum.*

[2] *Ne innoxium quidem.*] "Who imagined that they could not acquit even a guiltless person after they had found him guilty." They were bound by law to condemn a person clearly convicted of the act of treason or murder, even though he were justified in the act.

[3] *Auctore Tullo clemente legis interprete.*] "Influenced by the advice or authority of Tullus, who wished to give a mild interpretation to the law." Tullus, in his partiality, wished that he should avail himself of the privilege of appeal warranted by law.

[4] *Ita demum provocatione certatum.*] "The thing at last was tried according to the appeal before the people." So before *provocatione certato,* n. 98. Most editions read *ita de provocatione;* which conveys a different idea; it would then mean that the question of appeal itself, or concerning the appeal, was tried.

[5] *Patrio jure in filium animadversum.*] "By a father's privilege he would punish his son." By the laws of Romulus a father had the power of life and death over his children. Some read *filiam.*

[6] *Pila Horatia.*] "The spears of Horatius." *Pila* is erroneously supposed to be singular, and the same as στηλὴ, "a pillar;" whence some, for *illa pila,* in a subsequent passage, would read *illam pilam;* it is here plural, and comes from *pilum,* "a spear." There was a pillar erected, on which the spoils of the Curiatii were fixed; but it was from the "arms," and not the "pillar," that the place derived its name. He afterwards uses the words *pila et spolia hostium.*

[7] *Hunecine—eum.*] These words imply the same thing. The reader will see the demonstrative pronoun often used superfluously.

[8] *Sub furcâ.*] See B. 2. c. 36.

[9] *Quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent.*] So Milton, Paradise Lost, B. 11. l. 494,

> *Sight so deform,* what heart of rock could long
> Dry-eyed behold—

[9] * *Modò intra.*] *Inter* would appear a better reading, as *inter pila* above.

[10] *Parem animum.*] "A soul the same in every danger;" his intrepidity of mind, under his present circumstances, was equal to what he evinced in battle.

[11] *Pecuniâ publicâ.*] Money given out of the public treasury for the expiatory sacrifices.

[13] *Publicè . . . . refectum.*] "This beam, always repaired 'at the public expense,' remains even to this day." *Publicè* is frequently used thus.

CHAP XXVII.—[14] *Invidia vulgi.*] "The displeasure of the Alban multitude against the dictator, because the fortune of the state had been through him hazarded on three champions, warped from that allegiance which he now owed the Romans, his mind naturally fickle."

[15] *Pravis.*] This properly means crooked, distorted, and, in a moral sense, treacherous, &c.; it is opposed to *rectus,* which properly means straight, and hence, in a moral sense, honest, &c. So in English we say "a crooked fellow," "a straight-forward fellow," signifying "a treacherous man," "an honest man."

[16] *Suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat.*] "He reserves to his own people the work of succeeding by treachery, under the show of alliance with the Romans."

[17] *Colonia Romana.*] A colony had been planted at Fidenæ, after that town was taken by Romulus.—See c. 14.

[18] *Pacto transitionis Albanorum.*] "By virtue of the agreement that the Albans would desert over to them."

[19] *Ad confluentes.*] At the conflux of the Anio and Tiber.

[20] *Hi et in acie dextrum tenuere cornu.*] "These (the Veientes) in the line of battle also (as well as in their passage over the river) occupied the right, the Fidenatians the left."

[21] *Sensim ad montes succedit.*] "Files off slowly to the mountains." These lay on his right.

[22] *Erigit totam aciem.*] "When he thought he advanced to a sufficient distance from the Romans, he hurries on his whole force up the mountain." See B. 3. c. 18.—B. 2. c. 31. Crevier says *erigit* means "he draws up, or makes it halt."

[23] *Miraculo primò esse Romanis.*] "It was at first a matter of wonder to the Romans."—The infinitive, as here, is often used for the imperfect indicative.

[24] *Salios.*] These were called *Agonales* or *Agonenses* and *Collini,* because they performed their ceremonies and had their chapel on the Colline Hill, which was the same as the Quirinal Hill, (or at least was a part of it,) formerly called the Agonal Hill. Those

instituted by Numa, who were different from these, were called *Palatini*, because they performed their ceremonies, and had their chapel on the Palatine Hill.—See Crevier. Servius thinks, Æn. 8. v. 285, that both the Salii and the temples were vowed to Paleness and Terror, and that these Salii were called *Pallorii* and *Pavorii*. Others say the "shrines" only were offered to them.

[25] *Idem imperat.*] Scil. *rex imperat.* "He also commands this horseman to bid the cavalry raise their spears." *Eidem* (scil. *equiti*) would perhaps be a better reading, which Gronovius and others mention.

[26] *Et audiverant.*] "The Fidenatians both heard what was thus spoken in a loud voice, and many of them understood Latin, as they were intermixed with Romans in the colony." When a Roman colony had been planted in their town, they formed a part of it. The commentators imagine the passage to be faulty. Faber corrects it thus: *Ut queis coloni additi Romani essent.* Doujatius, thus: *ut qui coloni additi è Romanis essent.* But the following passages justify, says Gronovius, the present reading, B. 3, c. 1, (talking of the colony to be sent to Antium) *adeò pauci nomina dedere, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur.*—B. 8, c. 14, *Antium nova colonia missa cum eo, ut Antiatibus permitteretur, si et ipsi adscribi coloni vellent.*

[27] *Ab effusâ fugâ.*] It may appear to a tyro that there is a contradiction here. It is said that the river behind them, which lay in their way, prevented them from flying; and in the next sentence, that their flight took a direction towards it. But Livy only says, that it prevented them from flying in "disorder," *ab effusâ fugâ;* it was so close to them that they had not time to scatter.

[28] *Inter consilium.*] "While wavering between the resolution whether they should fight or fly."

Chap. XXVIII.—[29] *Quod bene vertat.*] A usual form of words adopted in praying for success.

[30] *Sacrificium lustrale.*] "A purificatory sacrifice," the same probably as *suovetaurilia.*—See ch. 44.

[31] *Novitate etiam.*] Not only induced by the command, but also excited by the novelty of such a circumstance, as hearing a Roman king deliver a speech.

[32] *Ex composito.*] "According to previous arrangement, the Roman forces under arms are drawn round the Albans." *Romana legio,* the Roman army; so last ch. *legionem Fidenatium.*

[33] *Si unquam antè aliàs in ullo bello.*] "If there was ever at any time before in any war, O Romans! a reason that you should return thanks, first to the gods, and next to your own valour, it was yesterday's battle."

[34] *Si quò ego inde agmen.*] "If I wished to draw off my army to any direction from that ground."

[35] *Quod bonum faustum felixque sit.*] See ch. 17, n. 14.

[36] *Civitatem.*] "The privileges of citizenship."

[37] *Vivo tibi ea disciplina à me adhibita esset.*] "I would allow you to live, and have given you such a lesson."

[38] *Animum ancipitem.*] "A mind divided between the interests of the Romans and the Fidenatians."

[39] *Quadrigis.*] This word means four horses joined by one yoke; sometimes the chariot drawn by them. But here it means "a team of four horses."

[40] *Quà inhæserant.*] "Bearing off the mangled body on each chariot, where the limbs had been tied by the chords."

[41] *Supplicium exempli parum memoris legum humanarum.*] "A punishment that established a precedent, which showed a disregard for the laws of humanity."

CHAP. XXIX.—[42] *Inter hæc.*] The superior elegance of this description is well worth the reader's attention. For *Albam* some copies have *Albani.*

[43] *Silentium triste ac tacita mæstitia.*] These words are not synonymous; their silence did not proceed from quietness, but deep sorrow and affliction; and their grief was not expressed in shrieks or lamentations, but buried deep within their breasts.

[44] *Ultimum illud.*] "For that last time." Val. Flac. B. 4. v. 253, has *extremum hoc,* and Curtius, B. 4. c. 11, *hoc tertium.* Cicero ad Attic. 13. 46, *hoc primum.* Some, for *illud,* read *illas.*

[45] *Ultimis urbis partibus.*] It is better to connect these words with *diruebantur* than with *audiebatur;* and the next words, *ex distantibus locis,* justify this opinion. The work of demolition commenced on the skirts of the city; and the crash, heard from thence, conveyed the news.

[46] *Quibus quisque poterat elatis.*] A Græcism for *iis, quæ quisque poterat, elatis.* So B. 4. c. 3, *quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum.* In Greek the relative commonly agrees with its antecedent in case.

[47] *Larem ac penates.*] *Lar* was a Tuscan word, signifying head of his family, or prince of his people. The head of any family or tribe was generally deified after death, and thought to protect the family, and his image was kept in the house. The *Lares* therefore were of human origin, being no more than the deified ancestors of the family. The *Penates* were the tutelary gods of the family, and were of divine origin.

[48] *Quadringentorum.*] Livy agrees with Virgil, who counts three hundred years from the foundation of Alba to the time of Romulus, Æn. 1. 272. But Dionysius and others say it flourished 487 years.

[49] *Templis temperatum est.*] *Templis* is here a dative. *A templis* would be equally good Latin. So we say to spare a thing, or efrain *from* it.

CHAP. XXX.—[50] *Frequentiùs habitaretur.*] "That it may be more thickly inhabited."

[51] *In Patres.*] "Into the body of patricans." And if there were any vacancies in the senate, he appointed Albans to fill them.

[52] *Tullios.*] In place of this family, Dionysius mentions the Julian family, *Julios;* but Livy and others show that these came to Rome before this time; indeed *Tullios* and *Julios* are often confounded in MSS.

[53] *Templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit.*] "And, as a consecrated place of meeting for this order thus augmented by himself, he built a senate-house, which was called the *Hostilian,* even to the time of our fathers."—See Æn. 7. 174. He calls the senate-house *templum* to show that it was a consecrated place, where the senators were to assemble under the sanction and sacred character of religion. This, which was a ruin, was in the time of Julius Cæsar repaired and called *Julia,* scil. *curia.*—*Curia* is derived from *curare,* "to manage the public business." As there is no mention made in any other author that he increased the number of senators, Crevier imagines that the words imply that he increased the number of families from whom senators were chosen.

[54] *Equitum decem turmas.*] *Turma* (qu. *terna, à ter et deni.*) was a body of thirty horse. Milton, Paradise Regained, B. 4. 66, uses the word *turm:*

"Legions and cohorts, *turms* of *horse* and wings."

Here it may not be improper to observe, that legions and cohorts mean the infantry of Romans and allies; turms of horse and wings, the cavalry of Romans and allies. The cavalry of the Roman army were generally called *alæ,* "wings," though, according to Lipsius, *De Militiâ Romanâ,* B. 2. c. 7, the word was sometimes used to signify any body of troops, whether horse or foot, posted to defend the flanks; and such troops were generally those of the allies, because they were mostly, if not always, posted on both flanks, and so formed a sort of wings to the main body. When legions and cohorts are mentioned together, legions usually meant the Roman foot, and cohorts meant the infantry of the allies; so the cavalry of the allies were mostly called *alarii,* or *alarii equites,* to distinguish them from the Roman cavalry, who were called *legionarii equites.* This is the view in which this passage of Milton must be taken, which has, like many others, been overlooked or misunderstood by his commentators.

[55] *Eodem supplemento.*] *i. e.* "The Albans."

[56] *Feroniæ.*] The same as Juno. She was worshipped by the Latins and Sabines in common at the foot of the hill Soracte.

[57] *Suos priùs in lucum confugisse.*] "The Sabines complained that, before that event, their own people fled into the asylum." The Sabines alleged that they had the first cause of complaint.

[58] *Et ipsi.*] *i. e.* As the Romans had been strengthened by

the accession of the Albans and the forces of Tatius, they too looked about for foreign aid.

59 *Proximi Etruscorum Vejentes.*] "Of all the Etrurian states, the Vejentes were the nearest to them."

60 *Etiam merces.*] Some of the poor Vejentian rabble, who had no certain residence, were influenced by pay, as others had been influenced by old animosities and recent defeat. These latter were the *voluntarii.*

61 *Publico auxilio.*] Assistance from the government of th Vejentes.

62 *De cæteris minùs mirum.*] It is less surprising that the rest of the Etrurians, who had no quarrel with the Romans, did not aid the Sabines. The treaty which Romulus entered into with the Vejentes, (see ch. 15,) had been violated.—See ch. 27. It appears that Tullus renewed it for a hundred years, on the conclusion of the Fidenatian war. Perizonius, Animadver. Histor. c. 4, says, we should read, in place of *pacta cum Romulo, pacta cum Tullo;* for Livy says, ch. 42, *bellum cum Vejentibus (jam enim induciæ exierant) sumptum,* scil. *à Servio Tullio.*—He calculates that a hundred years intervened between this time and that event in the reign of Servius Tullius.

63 *Verti in eo res videretur.*] "The event seemed to turn on this." It appeared to contribute materially to the general success.

64 *Occupat Tullus .... transire.*] "Tullus is the first to pass over:"—*occupo,* like φθάνω or φθῆμι, generally means to anticipate another, to take previous possession of a thing.—So ch. 14. 38.—B. 4. ch. 29.—B. 5. ch. 55.

CHAP. XXXI.—65 *Lapidibus pluisse.*] "That it rained stones." Al. *lapides.*

66 *Visi etiam audire.*] "They imagined that they even heard a voice from the grove on the top of the hill, commanding that the Albans, &c."

67 *Novendiale sacrum.*] "A festival of nine days." This was of two kinds: one in honour of the dead on the ninth day after burial; the other (which is alluded to here) was held for nine successive days, for the purpose of expiating a prodigy.

68 *Quandoque.*] For *quandocunque,* "whenever." See c. 24. n. 63. Some copies read *quandocunque.*

69 *Ab armis quies daretur ab bellicoso rege.*] Mark the different meanings here of *ab;* the first means "from," the second "by."

70 *Salubriora.*] "Were in better health when engaged in war than when at home."

71 *Longinquo morbo.*] "A lingering or tedious disease." *Longinquus* is sometimes used to signify "of long duration," so *longinqua obsidio, longinquum bellum, &c.*

72 *Obnoxius degeret.*] "Became a slave to."

[73] *Unam opem.*] "The only relief." Livy often uses *unus* in the sense of *unicus.*

[74] *Jovi Elicio.*] *Ab elicio, i. e. evoco; præfatis enim quibusdam votis Jovem cælo elici posse putabant.* But Plutarch says it comes from ἵλεως, *propitius.*—See ch. 20.

[75] *Operatum, &c.*] "That he concealed himself in order to perform these solemnities." *Operari* is a word particularly used to signify the performance of sacred rites.

[76] *Cælestium speciem.*] "Appearance of objects sent by heaven."

[77] *Cum domo.*] Most writers say that he was slain by Ancus Marcius, and his palace burned.

CHAP. XXXII.—[78] *Res ad patres redierat.*] "The government of the state devolved on the senators again," as it did after the death of Romulus.

[79] *Fuere auctores.*] See ch. 17, n. 11.

[80] *Ab unâ parte.*] "In one particular," *i. e.* in the affairs of religion.

[81] *Longè antiquissimum.*] "A thing of the utmost importance by far:" πρεσβύτερον is used in the same sense. *Antiquus* sometimes means what is of prime importance, what is chiefly to be regarded.—See B. 3. c. 10.—B. 6. c. 40.—B. 7. c 31.—B. 9. c. 31.

[82] *Pontificem, in album relata.*] "Transcribed on a white tablet;" *i. e.* such a one as they wrote on with ink, says Walker; or one which was not already written on; a blank one; *parma alba,* in Virgil, is a shield without a device. The *pontifex maximus* is sometimes simply styled *pontifex.*—See c. 20.—B. 2. c. 2. [27] The epithet *maximus* is not found applied to him earlier than in B. 3. c. 24. In some copies, however, the epithet *maximum* is used here. The word is derived from *pons* and *facio,* as they were the persons who first built, and afterwards kept in repair, the *pons sublicius,* or wooden bridge built over the Tiber. *Posse* and *facere* is another derivation, as they were thought the only priests who could sacrifice, *facere* being sometimes particularly applied to the performance of sacred rites, as Virg. Ecl. *faciam vitulâ.*

[83] *Medium erat in Anco ingenium, &c.*] "The genius of Ancus was of a middle kind, partaking both of the disposition of Numa and Romulus; and, besides his believing that peace was more necessary in the reign of his grandfather than in his own, as the people were then newly incorporated and barbarous, he also (believed) that he himself could not easily, without submitting to injuries, maintain the tranquillity which had fallen to the others lot; that his patience was tried, and, when tried, was despised: and that the times were fitter for a king like Tullus than Numa." The structure of this sentence is somewhat complicated and obscure. Repeat *credebat* with *etiam.*

[84] *Jus descripsit.*] "He copied, or borrowed the form." *Jus* is "the legal and established form or ceremony" used in doing any thing; *carmen,* a few sentences after, is "the language or words" used in going through it.

[85] *Capite velato filo (lanæ velamen est).*] "His head being covered with a thread (the covering is of wool)." So Tibull, L. 1. Eleg. 3, *velatus filo,* and Virg. Æn. 5. 366, *vittis velatus. Velare* is used to signify "to cover the head with chaplets, fillets, garlands, &c. in sacrifice." Some read *filum,* and connect it with *lanæ.*

[86] *Fas.*] The divine law, which was violated by the aggressors.

[87] *Dedier . . . . sîris.*] For *dedi* and *siveris.* There is another reading—*dedier populo Romano mihi,* "to be given up to me, the representative of the Roman people."

[88] *Si non deduntur, quos exposcit.*] Scil. *quos homines dedi exposcit;* he uses here the more worthy gender, as grammarians say; as he had said before, *illos homines illasque res dedier.* Duker would prefer *quæ,* which would include persons and things.

[89] *Solennes sunt.*] So many are allowed by established rule, before war is proclaimed.

[90] *Cum his nuncius redit.*] "He returns with this news."

[91] *Quarum rerum, litium, causarum, condixit.*] "With respect to the matters, controversies, and arguments about which the *pater patratus* of the Romans negociated with the *pater patratus,* &c." These genitives are a Græcism, where ἕνεκα is often understood. *Condixit,* "treated with," alludes to the negotiation about the breach of the league, and the demand of the restitution, which was rejected. As it was the *pat. patr.* who ratified the truce, it is natural he should be the person sent to complain of its violation, and require redress; though Livy does not mention the *pater pat.* of the Latins, we must suppose he was the person to treat with the Roman *pat. patr.,* who is styled *legatus* above. Gronovius and Crevier imagine that *condixit* means "entered into a covenant with," and that it alludes to the league entered into between the two states, and ratified by the *pater patr.* of each, whose proper office it was to make peace. They think the king consulted the senate only about the violation of the league, and not the refusal of restitution.

[92] *Consentio consciscoque.*] "I am of opinion that they should be sought by fair and holy combat, and consent and vote with those who think so." Crevier says the words *consentio conscisco-que* allude to the consent given by the senate to the people, whose business, he says, it was to declare war; but it does not appear the people were at all consulted, as Walker, I think, well observes.

[93] *Bellum erat consensu.*] "War was declared by common consent," *i. e.* the vote of the majority was as effectual as if all

were unanimous. Crevier reads *consensum.* "The war was unanimously agreed on." This phrase occurs B. 8. c. 6.

[94] *Sanguineam.*] "Smeared with blood;" or "whose bark was naturally of a blood-red colour."

[95] *Quòd populi . . . . fecerunt.*] "Because, or, for as much as the Latins have acted, transgressed against, &c."

CHAP. XXXIII.—[96] *Circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum.*] "And since the Sabines had taken up the capitol and citadel, and the Albans, Mount Cœlius, which were the places situated round the Palatium, the seat of the original Romans." Many old copies read *veteres Romani.*

[97] *Aventinum novæ multitudini datum.*] *Aventinum* is sometimes used thus in the neuter gender, as after, and B. 3. c. 67, *adversùs nos Aventinum capitur.* Dionysius calls it frequently τὸ Ἀβεντινόν.

[98] *Omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso.*] "The whole force of the belligerent Latins being brought together to Medullia, the contest was carried on there for some time with various success, while the general issue of the war remained uncertain." *Mars,* in Livy, when opposed to *victoria,* means the whole success and termination of a campaign or battle; though each party may at different times gain some advantage, yet the general issue may be uncertain. *Variâ victoriâ; æquo,* or, *incerto Marte,* are phrases often used by Livy. See B. 2. c. 16.

[99] *Aliquoties . . . . signa contulerat.*] "Fought the Romans several times in close engagement." *Conferre signa* is a phrase that means to come to close battle.

[1] *Acie.*] "In a pitched battle." Dionysius says he took Medullia at this time.

[2] *Ad Murciæ.*] "At the temple of Venus." *Murcia sive Murtia, quasi Myrtea,* an epithet given to Venus either from *myrtus,* because the myrtle was sacred to her, or from *murcus,* "slothful," because she was the goddess of sloth—idleness being an incentive to lust. The myrtle was sacred to her, as it usually grows on the sea shore; and she was said to spring from the sea.

[3] *Non muro solùm, sed etiam ponte sublicio conjungi urbi, &c.*] *Cingi,* or some such word, is understood to *muro.* This is a very ommon kind of ellipsis, when only one verb is joined to many substantives, while the verb, which properly agrees with some of them, is suppressed. *Muro* cannot depend on *conjungi,* as it is not likely the Janiculum was joined to it at this time, as the Piræus was to Athens. See B. 3. c. 68. *In Tiberim* is another reading; both forms are used.

[4] *Sublicio.*] "Wooden," from *sublicæ,* "piles" driven into the water to prop the bridge. See Cæsar, Bell. Gall. B. 4. c. 17.

[5] *Haud parvum munimentum à planioribus aditu locis.*] "No trifling defence in places which were low in situation, or level of approach." *Ab eâ parte,* says Rhenanus, *quâ erant loca planiora*

et aditu faciliora.—Some copies incorrectly read *additum* in place of *aditu.*

[6] *Discrimine rectè an perperam facti confuso.*] "The distinction of right and wrong being confounded," and consequently disregarded.

CHAP. XXXIV.—[7] *Ignorans nurum ventrem ferre.*] "When he died without noticing his grandchild in his will, as he did not know that his daughter-in-law was pregnant." *Venter* and *uterus* are often figuratively used to signify *partus.* So Tacit. Annal. B. 1. c. 59, *subjectus servitio uxoris uterus.*—An. 15. c. 23, *senatus uterum Poppiæ commendaverat diis.*—See Drakenborch for an account of the variation here in the statements of Livy and Dionysius.

[8] *Divitiæ animos facerent.*] "When riches gave him high notions, Tanaquil enlarged those high notions."

[9] *Haud facilè iis.*] "Who could not easily bear that her condition after marriage should be lower than that in which she was born;" *i. e.* that her husband should be inferior to her family. Rhenanus reads *innupsisset* in place of *illi nupsisset.* Gronovius, who is followed by others, reads *humiliora sineret ea quæ innupsisset. Spernentibus, &c.* According to him, *quæ innupsisset* must be used for *quibus innupsisset.*

[9*] *In novo.*] We must conceive *volvebat in animo Tanaquil,* or the like, understood. *Futurum*—understand *esse* depending on the suppressed clause.

[10] *Sabinâ matre.*] As she was the daughter of Numa, who was a Sabine. No mention being any where made of the father of Ancus, Seneca says, Ep. 108, *Anci pater nullus.*

[11] *Unâ imagine.*] "He could only produce the single image of Numa to entitle him to nobility." No one was considered noble who could not show images of his ancestors; and no one was allowed to have an image, who had not filled one of the highest offices in the state.

[12] *Ut cupido honorum.*] "As being a man naturally ambitious of honours, and as Tarquinii was only his mother's country." He had no strong natural tie to bind him to Tarquinii; his mother only was a native of the place, and this was not a sufficient inducement to keep him there. *Cupidus, a, um.*

[13] *Ministerio.*] "As if sent by divine command to perform that office."

[14] *Excelsa et alta.*] In this sense μετέωρα and ὑψηλὰ are used together by Longinus and others.

[15] *Eam alitem.*] "That such a bird from such a quarter of the sky, and the messenger of such a deity, (*i. e.* Jupiter, to whom the eagle was sacred,) had come." All these were omens of his future greatness. An accusative with an infinitive, when the verb on which it depends is understood, is very usual in exclamations, or to express any quick or strong emotion. So Virgil, Æn. 1. 41, *mene incepto desistere victam.*

[16] *Levâsse—decus.*] "Lifted the ornament," *i. e.* his cap.—*Divinitùs,* "by the will of heaven."

[17] *L. Tarquinium Priscum edidêre nomen.*] As he did not take this name until afterwards, this expression should be rejected: yet it must be confessed Livy uses the figure *prolepsis* not unfrequently. See B. 8. c. 13.

[18] *Notitiamque eam.*] "And that acquaintance with the royal family he in a short time, by paying his court to the king with politeness and address, had improved so far, as to be admitted to the privileges of familiar friendship."

[19] *Expertus.*] "Being proved faithful."

CHAP. XXXV.—[20] *Ablegavit.*] This properly signifies "to send out of the way whatever may be an annoyance or impediment." *Sub tempus,* "a little before the time of the *comitia.*"

[21] *Quum, se non rem novam petere, &c.*] Either *quum* must be expunged, or some such word as *diceret,* or *memoraret,* must be understood.

[22] *Ultro.*] Without the thing being expected by him. See c. 5. n. 75.

[23] *Sui potens.*] "Ever since he became his own master."

[24] *Minorum gentium.*] "Of younger or inferior families." This name was given to those more meritorious and opulent plebeians, who were elected into the order of the patricians, and afterwards into the senate. At this time the number of 300 senators was made up. *Majorum gentium patres* were those whose fathers were patricians under Romulus and Tatius.

[25] *Factio haud dubia regis.*] "Undoubtedly a faction belonging to the king."

[26] *Prædâ majore, quàm quanta belli fama fuerat.*] "Having brought back from it a greater share of booty than could be expected from a war of such little notoriety." The ellipsis is thus filled up:—*Majore prædâ, quàm tanta præda erat, quanta belli fama fuerat.*

[27] *Spectacula.*] "Seats," from which they may see the games.

[28] *Spectavêre.*] They remained during the games on these seats, supported by props twelve feet high from the ground.—Literally, "They beheld the games, props supporting the seats, which were in height twelve feet from the ground." Dionysius, B. 3. p. 200, says that this circus lay between the Aventine and Palatine; that the seats were covered overhead with a separate division for each *fratria;* and that, before this, the spectators stood up.

CHAP. XXXVI.—[29] *Divine tu, inaugura.*] "Come, you diviner, tell me by your augury."—So ch. 6, *ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.* Several copies and MSS. read *divina inauguratò;* but *inaugurare,* when transitive, in the common grammatical sense of the word, means "to choose or consecrate a place for taking omens."—So B. 3. c. 20.

[30] *Comitio.*] A part of the forum, where in early times the assemblies of the people, called *comitia,* convened for public purposes, were held. After the people assembled in the Campus Martius, the assemblies of the *curiæ* were still held here. It comes from *coëo.*

[31] *Certè.*] This is opposed to *memorant* before. Whether the story about the whetstone be true or false, this is certain, &c.

[32] *Summa rerum dirimerentur.*] "The most important concerns of the state were put off." Gronovius would read, *exercitus vocati de summâ rerum.*

[33] *Alterum tantum.*] "As many more." Like τοσοῦτος ἕτερος. *Numerum* is understood. So B. 8. c. 8.—B. 10. c. 46.—B. 45. c. 10.

[34] *Posteriores.*] Those, who were added, were called juniors, but under the same name as they had before, *i. e. Ramnenses posteriores, Luceres posteriores, Tatienses posteriores.* Crevier and others connect *modò* with *posteriores appellati sunt;* thus "they were only distinguished by the name of 'juniors' prefixed to their original name." For *mille et octingenti,* some read *mille et ducenti;* some, *mille et trecenti.*—The commentators are diffuse, and indeed not very clear, each in support of his favourite reading.—Drakenborch supports the present reading thus:—Romulus had three centuries of horse, or 300; Tatius added as many more; Tullus (ch. 30,) added ten *turms, i. e.* 300, making in all 900 horse.—So that when Tarquin doubled the number in his time, there were 1800.—But, as Walker observes, be the number what it may, Livy says that Tarquin only doubled it.

[35] *Geminatæ sunt.*] *i. e.* by Serv. Tullius. See ch. 43.—*Sex centurias, "the* six centuries," by way of pre-eminence.

Chap. XXXVII.—[36] *Pleraque in ratibus.*] "And when most of it, driven against the piles, stuck in the timber of which the bridge was made." Gronovius, Drakenborch, and Crevier read, *et pleraque ratibus impacta sublicisque cùm hærerent.* Others say that *in ratibus* means "placed on rafts."

[37] *Pontem.*] A bridge which the Sabines built over the Anio.

[38] *Et fusis.*] The common reading, *effusis,* is manifestly incorrect. *Effundo, effluo, effringo, expromo,* and the like, are often corruptly introduced into MSS. for *et fundo, et fluo, et frango, et promo,* and the like.

[39] *Insignem victoriam fecêre.*] "Made the victory known."

[40] *Tenuêre.*] "Reached them." So *portum tenere.*

[41] *Vulcano.*] As it was by his agency the bridge was consumed.

Chap. XXXVIII.—[42] *Collatia.*] Hence, says Dionysius, he and his posterity were called Collatini: for *circa* some read *citra.*

[43] *In suâ potestate.*] "At their own disposal."

[44] *Utensilia.*] This means generally any thing for use; in Tacitus the word means "provisions."

[45] *Tarquinius triumphans.*] This is the first instance of a regular triumph recorded in Roman history, the introduction of which ceremony is by some ascribed to Tarq. Priscus; Dionysius and Plutarch ascribe it to Romulus.

[46] *Quietior.*] "So that the people did not enjoy more rest."

[47] *Quâ.*] Scil. *parte*, "where."

[48] *E fastigio.*] "By sewers led down into the Tiber from the high ground," from which the water used to flow into the hollows. Gronovius thinks the passage means, that these sewers were drawn only through the flat ground, but "on a slope;" and would prefer the rejection of *è* before *fastigio.*

[49] *Occupat.*] "Takes previous possession of the place (before it could be appropriated to any other purpose) by laying the foundation."

CHAP. XXXIX.—[50] *Prodigium.*] See a somewhat similar one, Æn. 2. 682.

[51] *Reges.*] "The king and queen."

[52] *Familiarium.*] "Of the domestics." This word was originally used for *famulus.*

[53] *Scire licet.*] "Be assured (from this omen) that this boy will hereafter be to us a light in our adversity." *Lumen*, like *φάος* in Homer, is used to signify "comfort, hope, or protection;" *columen* is another reading.

[54] *Materiem.*] "Let us, with all the attention we can bestow, rear him up, who is to be the source of great glory to our family and our state."

[55] *Ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur.*] "By which noble minds are roused to maintain exalted rank with dignity." Some read *culmen* for *cultum.*

[56] *Evasit verè indolis regiæ.*] "The youth proved to be of a mind truly royal."

[57] *Quâcunque de causâ.*] "This great honour conferred upon him, from whatever cause it was so conferred, prevents us from believing that he was born of a slave, and was himself a slave, when a child."

[58] *Unicam nobilitatem.*] "The extraordinary nobility of her rank."

[59] *Mulieres.*] "The queen and the widow of Ser. Tullius.

CHAP. XL.—[60] *Pro indignissimo habuerant.*] "Although they had deemed it the greatest indignity, that they were driven from the throne of their father by the treachery of their guardian; that a stranger, who was not only not of citizen origin, but not even of Italian, should be king at Rome."

[61] *Non modò.*] This expression is very frequent for *non modò non*, when *ne quidem* is used in the next clause; so is also *non solùm*; see B. 5. c. 43. *οὐχ ὅπως* is used in the same sense, when *ἀλλὰ* is in the next clause: *οὐχ ὅπως ἀπέστρεψεν ἢ διεκώλυσεν, ἀλλ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γεγένηται.*—Demos.

[62] *Indignitas.*] "Indignation," or a sense of the indignity.

[63] *Centesimum ferè annum.*] "After about the hundredth year." *Ferè* here, as elsewhere, is used for *circiter*, and means "a little more," or "a little less," as occasion may require. Though one hundred and forty years elapsed since the death of Romulus, yet they limit the time to one hundred, to excite greater odium against Tarquin.

[64] *Et quia.*] "And also this consideration stimulated them against him, that the king, if he survived, would take severer vengeance for the murder, than a private iudividual; besides (*tum*) if Servius was killed, &c." This was a third consideration. Walker says the sentence is elliptical, and thus fills it up :—*Et (regi insidias parabant) quia*, &c. May it not be more simply explained thus :—*et hoc stimulabat eos, scil. quia gravior*, &c., *quia* being the same as *quòd* which some read here? Gronovius, followed by Drakenborch and Crevier, thinks *quia* should be expunged.

[65] *Ferramentis quibus consueti erant agrestibus.*] "Armed with the iron tools of husbandmen, which they used to carry, or were acquainted with." This clause depends on *convertunt; qui* for *quibus* is erroneously found in some copies.

[66] *Invicem.*] "By turns," one after the other.

[67] *Se rex totus averteret.*] "When the king, attentive to him, turned off entirely from the other, then this other, &c."—Some copies read *adverteret.*

CHAP. XLI.—[68] *Populi.*] This, being a noun of multitude, agrees with *mirantium; mirantis* and *mirari* are other readings.

[69] *Arbitros.*] This word elsewhere, as here, means a stranger or person who may afterwards be brought as evidence. In Sallust, Bell. Cat. *arbitris procul amotis,* refers to those who were not in the secret of the conspiracy.

[70] *Alia molitur.*] "Provides other safeguards," other means of protecting her person, and securing her power.

[71] *Socrum ludibrio esse.*] "His mother-in-law to be a sport."

[72] *Flamma.*] Alluding to the lambent flame that played around his head in his sleep, when a boy.

[73] *Et nos peregrini regnavimus.*] *i. e.* Our example, who were foreigners like you, should also stimulate you. For *verè,* before, some read *verere?* some, *quid verere?*

[74] *Ad Jovis Statoris.*] Scil. *ædem;* so ch. 33, *ad Murciæ—sic et alibi sæpe.*

[75] *Sopitum fuisse.*] "Was only stunned." Thrown into a trance or sleep.

[76] *Salubria.*] That all the symptoms showed he was safe.

[77] *Servio Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse.*] "That he ordered the people to obey, or listen to, the command of Servius Tullius'—*dicto audiens esse alicui,* is a phrase commonly used to signify, to obey or hearken to the mandate of one.

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[78] *Trabeâ.*] This was a streaked robe, of a purple and white colour, worn by kings; it comes from *trabs.* After the expulsion of the kings, it was worn during the republic by consuls on the day of triumph, and by knights when reviewed by the censor. There was another kind, all purple, sacred to the gods; and a third of purple and scarlet, worn by augurs.

[79] *Quum jam expirâsset.*] "For some days after he had already expired."

[80] *Fungendæ vicis alienæ.*] "Of discharging another person's duty."

[81] *Palam facto.*] "The thing being made public." This use of the participle in the abl. absolute is quite common—some read *palam factum ex comploratione.*

CHAP. XLII.—[82] *Publicis magìs consiliis quàm privatis.*] "Servius began now to secure his power, not more by schemes of a public than of a private nature." His public schemes were the *census* and *com. centuriata;* his private schemes were the marriage of his daughters.

For next reference in text, in place of 88, read 83.

[83] *Quin invidia regni.*] "But that envy of the sovereign power should produce general treachery and hostility, even among the members of his own family;" this was the *fati necessitatem* just mentioned.

[84] *Peropportunè ad præsentis quietem statûs.*] "Very opportunely for preserving the tranquillity of the present state of things."

[85] *Induciæ exierant.*] *i. e.* The treaty renewed by Tullus. See ch. 30. n. 61.

[86] *Haud dubius rex.*] "Acknowledged undoubtedly now as king, whether he should try the affections of the patricians or populace." *Periclitari* often means to "hazard" an experiment, or "to try."

[87] *Aggrediturque ad pacis opus.*] "He proceeds to a work of peace (*i. e.* of civil policy) of the greatest importance."

[88] *Servium conditorem omnis discriminis ordinumque.*] "So posterity may celebrate Servius as the founder of all distinction in the state, and of the several orders, by means of which any difference appears between the degrees of rank and fortune."

[89] *Censum.*] This was a quinquennial registering of every man's age, family, profession, property and residence, by which the amount of his taxes was regulated. Every man was obliged on oath to give a fair return.

[90] *Centurias.*] The centuries of horse, which at first consisted of one hundred, did not consist of a fixed number of persons; the first class, though not containing more individuals, contained more centuries than any other class.

[91] *Hunc ordinem vel paci vel bello decorum.*] *i. e.* This arrangement which subsists at present, calculated to preserve propriety and regularity in all transactions either of peace or war.

CHAP XLIII.—[92] *Centum millium æris.*] "A fortune of one hundred thousand *asses,* or pounds weight of brass." This does not mean their yearly income, but their whole property. The value of money (which was mostly brass) at this time was estimated by weight; an *as* was about three farthings of our money.

[93] *Quadragenas seniorum ac juniorum.*] "Forty of the elder, and forty of the younger." The elder were those who had attained the age of forty-six; the younger *(juvenes* or *juniores)* from seventeen to forty-six.

[94] *Fabrûm centuriæ.*] Dionysius says these belonged to the second class.

[95] *Ut machinas in bello ferrent.*] Lipsius (B. 3. Poliorcet. Dial. 6,) thinks, with great justice, that we should read *facerent* here for *ferrent.* Dionysius, B. 4. p. 222, says, there were two centuries ὁπλοποιῶν καὶ τεκτόνων.

[96] *Senioribus junioribusque.*] "Ten senior and ten junior."

[97] *Clypeo.*] This was round and shorter than the *scutum,* which was oblong. Livy B. 8. c. 8, says that all soldiers, after they began to receive pay, used the *scutum.* Polybius, B. 6, says, that this was four feet long and two and a half broad, and covered the whole body, which Homer expresses by the words ἀμφίβροτος, "covering the man all over," and ποδηνεκής, "reaching to the feet." He describes Hector's shield, when slung on his back, reaching from head to foot, B. 6. 117, as follows:

> Ἀμφὶ δέ μιν σφυρὰ τύπτε, καὶ αὐχένα δέρμα κελαινὸν
> Ἄντυξ, ἣ πυμάτη θέεν ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης.

[98] *Præter loricam, omnia eadem.*] This second class had all the armour and weapons of the first, except the *lorica;* the third class wanted the *lorica* and *ocreæ.*

[99] *Tertiæ classis in quinquaginta millium censum esse.*] "He enacted that the fortune of the third class should be from seventy-five to fifty thousand *asses.*" The words, as they stand, are obscure; it is likely that *censum* is understood. Crevier says *centurias* is the word understood. Drakenborch says that no word is understood, but that *millia* should be written for *millium,* as it was originally written *in L. M.* in the MSS. which gave rise to the mistake. This is quite probable. Some copies read *tertiam classem in quinquaginta:* some, *in tertiâ classe quinquaginta, &c.* The explanation in Walker's edition is decidedly wrong; it says, *certè Livius voluit tertiam classem institutam fuisse intra septuaginta usque ad quinquaginta millium censum.* Surely it should be, *intra quinque et septuaginta usque ad.* Seventy-five thousand *asses* constituted the *minimum* property as a qualification for the second class; and from that down to fifty thousand was the property of the third class. One of Vossius's MSS. has, *tertia classis, quam intra quinque et septuaginta usque in quinquaginta millium*

censum esse voluit, totidem, &c. This evidently is the meaning of the passage, whatever be the reading.

[1] *Arma mutata, nihil præter hastam et verutum datum.*] *Verutum* was a short dart, headed with a piece of iron resembling a spit *(veru)*; it is supposed to be a casting dart, hurled by means of a string. The spear *(hasta)* was given for close fight. See B. 8. c. 24. Though the arms of this class were lighter than those of the former, yet they were not properly *velites,* or light-armed troops. The *hasta* was not always used in close fight, as Cic. (de Senectute, c. 6,) shows: *nec eminus hastis, nec cominus gladiis uteretur.*—As he here mentions *hasta* and *verutum* for different purposes, so he mentions *hasta* and *gæsa,* B. 8. c. 8. Dionysius says, this class had *θυρέους τὲ, καὶ ξιφῆ, καὶ δόρατα, scutaque, gladiosque, pilaque.* So after he attaches the musicians not to the fifth class, like Livy, but to the fourth.

[2] *Aucta.*] Increased in the number of centuries.

[3] *In his accensi cornicines tubicinesque in tres centurias distributi.*] This passage has opened to the commentators a wide field for criticism. Most of them, as the words thus stand, think that these three centuries consisted of three kinds of persons, horn-blowers, trumpeters, and extraordinaries, or supernumeraries, *accensi.* These *accensi,* of whom Livy speaks, B. 8. c. 8, were kept for the purpose of filling any vacancies caused by death, &c.; they were also the coadjutors or servants of the centurions and other officers; they were sometimes posted among the light-armed troops. Some think that *in his* means, "included among the centuries of the fifth class;" and, according to these, the entire number of centuries must be one hundred and ninety-one. Others again think that these three centuries were additional; and that *in* before *his* should be expunged. And some go so far as to imagine that *in duas* should be substituted for *in tres,* because Dionysius says, there were only two centuries consisting of horn-blowers, trumpeters, and other musicians, which were added to the fourth class. I think this would better correspond with the distribution of the centuries into senior and junior, and with the two centuries of mechanics. But if, says Walker, we make *accensi,* according to Perizonius, a verb, and read (according to a MSS. of Vossius, which, I think, he means by *unus codex manuscriptus,*) the whole passage thus, *in his accensi cornicines tubicinesque inter centurias distributi,* it will be very plain—"among these, (*i. e.* the centuries of the fifth class) were reckoned the horn-blowers and trumpeters, who were distributed through all the centuries." They were obliged to have the same property as the centuries of the fifth class, and paid the same tax, yet they formed no distinct body by themselves, but were distributed through the centuries of the several classes, as there was occasion for them. Even by retaining *tres,* if we make *accensi* a verb, we can suppose that

cornicines tubicinesque include others, and mean all the musical performers of the army, which were divided into three centuries. *Tibicines*, "fifers," is the common reading, which is wrong, as there were no fifers in the Roman army. Dionysius calls them σαλπισταί.

[4] *Censebatur.*] "Was rated at."

[5] *Tribus ab Romulo.*] *i. e.* "Out of" the three. Gronovius says we should read *è tribus*. Salmasius (de milit. Rom. c. 20,) understands the words as meaning "in addition" to the three centuries of Romulus.

[6] *Iisdem . . . . nominibus.*] They were called *Rhamnenses primi et secundi; Tatienses primi et secundi; Luceres primi et secundi.*

[7] *Ad equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data.*] "Ten thousand *asses*." It is incredible, according to Walker, that each horseman, as all the commentators imagine, got such a considerable sum, as this must be at this time, to purchase a horse. Livy himself, B. 4. c. 45, calls this sum *divitiæ* at a time when money was in much greater abundance. From a calculation of the value of money, he thinks it more probable that such a sum was given to each century.

[8] *Et, quibus equos alerent, viduæ attributæ, quæ bina millia æris in singulos annos penderent.*] "Widows were appointed to pay every year two thousand pounds weight of brass, by means of which the horsemen might support their horses."—Drakenborch says, this means that the widow's tax formed a sort of fund, out of which each horseman every year got two thousand *asses*; not that each widow paid so much every year, as this would be an enormous severity.—Gronovius thinks *quî* would be better here than *quibus*.—No doubt, *quî* here would be very good to express the "means," as grammarians say, if there were the authority of respectable MSS. for it

[9] *Inde primæ classis centuriæ.*] "After these the eighty centuries of the first class were called on." The knights belonged to these.

[10] *Ibi si variaret . . . . ut.*] "If there occured a difference of opinion among these, the practice was, that those of the second class should be called." But if the eighteen centuries of knights, and the eighty centuries of the first class were unanimous, as these constituted the majority, it was unnecessary to poll any more. Sigonius says *ut* here depends on *gradus facti* above.

[11] *Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem.*] "Nor should we be surprised at this arrangement, which subsists at present, now that the tribes have been increased to thirty-five, and the original number of them doubled, does not correspond with the centuries of senior and junior, according to the amount of those instituted by Servius Tullius." Servius made four city tribes, or districts, denominated from the different quarters of the city which were inhabited, *i. e.* the Palatine, Suburran, Collinian, and Esqui-

line. Now this distribution by districts or tribes, which were merely certain portions of ground with the inhabitants, had nothing to do with the centuries. But afterwards the tribes became not portions of the city or country, but of the state; *i. e.* they were a sort of fraternity of citizens, connected by a participation in the common rights of the tribe, without any reference to their places of residence; (see B. 3. ch. 51. n.) and the centuries were included among them. Therefore, as the number of tribes increased, so did the number of centuries, but not the number of centuries in the several classes, according to the original proportion under the system of Servius; for if so, the superiority of the first class would still continue. And the consequence of this was, according to Dionysius, that the influence of the lower orders in political matters became predominant, as their centuries out-numbered, and out-voted those of the first class. He appointed country tribes or districts also; their number seems to have been about fifteen or sixteen.—See B. 2, c. 21. These country tribes were considered more honourable than the city tribes, because the employment of agriculture was held in the highest estimation, and because freedmen, mechanics, people in every kind of trade, and all the lowest of the community, were enrolled in the latter; so that when the number of tribes increased to thirty-five, it was about double what it was in the reign of Servius Tullius.

[12] *Tributo.*] Others think the word comes from *tres,* because there were three tribes first appointed by Romulus; but Livy calls these "centuries of horse," and they differed totally not only in name but in nature too from the tribes of Servius, because they only regarded the stock or origin of the constituent members.

[13] *Nam ejus quoque . . . . . ratio inita est.*] "For the system of contributing this too in even proportion, according to every one's property, was established by him.

CHAP. XLIV. —[14] *Quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latæ.*] "Which he had brought to a speedy close by means of the dread of the law that was passed about those who were not registered."—It was this dread of the law that made them register so soon.—Doujatius would read *metus,* which would certainly make the passage plainer.—*Deinceps* was the common reading of the old copies for *de incensis.*

[15] *Campo Martio.*] This is a figure called prolepsis, or anticipation, as the place did not get this name until afterwards.—See B. 2. c. 5.

[16] *Suovetaurilibus.*] A ceremony of purification, from *sus, ovis,* and *taurus,* "a swine, a sheep, and a bull," properly "a boar, a ram, and a bull," which, after being three times led round the army, were sacrificed to Mars.

[17] *Idque conditum lustrum appellatum.*] "And that (the cere-

mony or sacrifice of the suovetaurilia) was called the closing of the lustrum." *Lustrum* included every thing belonging to the census, as appears by the next line.—*Quia* refers to *conditum*, from *condere* "to end," so Virg. Ecl. 9. 52, *cantando puerum memini me condere soles.*

[18] *Fabius Pictor.*] The most ancient of the Roman historians. He lived in the second Punic war. There were however certain chronicles and annals before his time.—See B. 4. c. 3.

[19] *Deinceps auget Esquilias.*] "Then in continuation he enlarges the Esquiliæ," *i. e.* with more buildings and inhabitants. Gronovius reads *Esquiliis, i. e.* he enlarges the city by taking in the Esquiliæ. *Deinceps* means that the Esquiline was a continuation of the Viminal.

[20] *Postmœrium.*] *i. e.* The space "behind" or outside the wall. Livy says that it is not the "only" meaning of the word, but that it properly means the space on both sides of the wall. He does "not" deny that the word comes from *post* and *murus*, but he denies the correctness of the interpretation of these words.

[21] *Continuarentur.*] Should be erected close to the walls.

[22] *Conjungunt.*] Form a part of them.

Chap. XLV.—[23] *Quum consensum deosque consociatos laudaret mirè Servius inter proceres Latinorum.*] Servius admired the great concord and the friendly alliance, as it were, between their gods, *i. e.* the unanimity in point of religion, that subsisted between the Latin chiefs.—Now this union in religion he saw was the foundation and best cement of political alliance, and it was for the purpose of attaching to himself these states of the Latins by the bond of a common religion, that he prevailed on them to build in conjunction with the Romans a temple at Rome to Diana, whom they were to worship together; and as Rome was thus made the seat of their common religion, it was a confession that it was the capital of their united states. This, I think, is the meaning of this passage.

[24] *Romæ fanum Dianæ.*] This, says Dionysius, was on the Aventine.

[25] *Id quanquam.*] Though the Latins gave up all thoughts of this pre-eminence.

[26] *Fors dare.*] "An accidental opportunity of recovering power by a scheme of his own seemed to offer itself to one of the Sabines." These, as well as the Latins, were struggling with the Romans for pre-eminence. This, which the Latins had resigned all hope of, the Sabine thought he could obtain for his own state. I do not think, as most commentators suppose, that he here confounds the Latins and Sabines.

[27] *Fixa......cornua.*] They were hung up after she was slain.

[28] *Dianæ immolâsset.*] *i. e.* To Diana, whose temple was built on the Aventine.

[29] *Inceste.*] "Without previous purification."

[30] *Ex templo.*] "Out of the temple." *Extemplo,* "immediately," would be a better reading, though *ex templo* is often used in this sense. When the sacrifice was over, the priest uttered the words *ex templo,* which was a signal for the people to retire; in the same way, when the business of the court was over, the crier pronounced *ilicet (ire licet;)* and as the people all at once retired, the words came to signify "at once." Some think that, as *templum* means "a place marked out by the augur for taking his omens," *ex templo* is the same as *ilico,* scil. *è loco.*

[31] *Immolat.*] This properly means "to sprinkle meal mixed with salt on the head of the victim," which was the ceremony by which it was consecrated to the gods; hence it signifies "to sacrifice," and in general "to slay." It comes from *in* and *mola,* "meal mixed with salt."

CHAP. XLVI.—[32] *Usu haud dubium regnum possederat.*] "Though he had now an undoubted title to the kingdom in consequence of his possession of it." The Romans considered that possession for a certain time gave a right. So Horace, Ep. 2. B. 2. 159, *quædam mancipat usus.* Some read *dubiè* for *dubium.*

[33] *Affectandi regni.*] "Of seizing on the sovereign power." So, Virg. Æn. 3. 670, *ubi nulla datur affectare dextrâ potestas.* So in English we say "affected with disease, affected with melancholy," or the like.

[34] *De agro plebis adversâ patrum voluntate senserat agi.*] "He was sensible, that the business of distributing the land among the populace, was opposed by the wishes of the patricians." *Adversâ......voluntate* is an abl. absolute. Most old copies and MSS. read *adversum* (some, *adversùs*) *patrum voluntatem.*—But the adjective *adversus* is often elegantly used by Livy and others to form an ablative absolute.

[35] *Et Romana regia.*] "The palace of the Roman kings too (as well as that of other kings) presented an instance of tragic atrocity."

[36] *Filius neposne...ediderim.*] Dionysius, arguing from the long reigns of Ancus, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius and Tarquinius Superbus, says he was his grandson; but this reasoning is overthrown by Newton in his chronology. *Ediderim,* "I may or can have pronounced him;" the same as *edere licet.* *An* is understood after *filius;* the omission of this particle *an* after a word, when *ne* is joined to a following word to which the preceding is opposed, is often met with. So B. 9, c. 32, *Etrusci diem primum consultando, maturarent traherentne bellum, traduxerunt.*

[37] *Nupserant.*] This word is properly applied to a woman, and strictly means "to put on the bridal veil." *Ducere uxorem* (to lead home his wife) was applied to the man.

[38] *Fortunâ.*] Because the marriage of two such violent spirits would accelerate the king's death, which would be an injurious event to the state, before his measures were established, and a taste for freedom given.

[39] *Muliebri cessaret audaciâ.*] "Wanted that daring enter prise which a woman ought to have." She imagined that this was a necessary qualification in a woman, as she herself possessed it. *Cesso* sometimes means "to be free from," "to want;" so Lucan, *cessare Marte cruento; scil. à Marte cruento.*

[40] *Sed initium.*] Though they both possessed such congeniality of sentiment, yet the woman was the first to begin the disturbance. Such is the force of *sed.*

[41] *De viro ad fratrem.*] "About her own husband to his brother, about her sister to her (sister's) husband."

[42] *Viduam.*] This word is sometimes, as here, applied to a woman who never married. So *virgo* sometimes means "a married woman." Hor. Od. B. 2, Od. 8. 22, *miseræque nuper virgines nuptæ.* See also B. 3. Od. 11. 35.

[43] *Aruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis.*] "When Aruns Tarquinius and the younger Tullia had by their deaths, which happened almost in succession, left their houses free for a new marriage, they (Lucius Tarquinius, and the elder Tullia) are united in matrimony, Servius rather not preventing, than approving of, the match." Dionysius says that the elder Tullia was the first wife of Lucius Tarquinius. Whence Sabellicus, Glareanus, and others, would read here *Tullia major.* According to this first explanation of the passage, the two verbs *fecissent* and *junguntur,* though apparently united in sense, must have different subjects. Such a peculiarity occurs elsewhere in Livy, where the subject of one of two verbs, (generally the latter verb) thus apparently connected, is supplied from the context, as c. 4, *sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet,* scil. *rex jubet*—B. 2. c. 28, *correpti consules quum, quid ergo se facere vellent, percunctarentur, decernunt ut,* &c. scil. *patres decernunt*—B. 4. c. 48, *prensantur à principibus tribuni......sex ad intercessionem comparavêre,* scil. *principes senatorum. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor* is another reading sanctioned by almost all MSS.; and, according to this, the translation is, "after Lucius Tarquinius and the younger Tullia had by their murders, which happened almost in succession, (one by the murder of his wife, the elder Tullia; the other by the murder of her husband, Aruns Tarquinius) made their houses open for a new marriage, they are then joined in matrimony." This is the more probable reading, as the phrase *facere domos vacuas novis nuptiis* is applied rather to the "murderers" than the "murdered." So Cic. Catil. 1. c. 6, *cum morte superioris uxoris domum vacuam novis nuptiis fecisses.*—Sall. Catil. c. 15, *pro certo creditur, necato filio, domum vacuam scelestis nuptiis fecisse.*

CHAP. XLVII.—[44] *Infestior senectus.*] "More hated." This word is sometimes used in an active, sometimes, as here, in a passive sense.

[45] *Ne gratuita præterita parricidia essent.*] "That their past murders may not be unrewarded."

[46] *Nupta diceretur.*] *i. e.* Married nominally, not in reality. She calls her present marriage a nominal one from the pusillanimity of her husband. *Tacita,* "in silence," without murmuring against the king.

[47] *Isthic.*] In your present condition the crime of murder is accompanied by inactivity.

[48] *Quin accingeris.*] Literally "why are you not girded up?" why not prepare yourself for this enterprise? The expression is borrowed from the practice among the ancients, when about to enter on a journey or other active business, of tying up with a girdle the outside robe, which was usually loose and flowing.

[49] *Peregrina regna moliri.*] You are not obliged like your father to set out from Corinth or Tarquinii "to struggle for" *(moliri)* foreign kingdoms: *i. e.* to which as a foreigner you can have no claim.

[50] *Dii te penates...... et nomen Tarquinium creat.*] Here the number of the last of several subjects determines the number of the verb. This is a remarkable instance of deviation from one of the first principles of grammar, where it is laid down, that, if a verb have several nominative cases, it must be plural. See B. 3. c. 50. n.

[51] *Nullum momentum.*] "No influence." *Momentum* is properly whatever gives one scale of a balance its preponderance. We find "moment" in English used in a similar sense. The Almighty, speaking of the fall of man, says, (Paradise Lost, B. 10. l. 43.)

——— No decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
Or touch with slightest "moment" of impulse
His free will to her own inclining left
In even scale———

[52] *Minorum gentium patres.*] See ch. 35. n. 24. They were indebted to his father for their elevation, and ought to be the more anxious to support him.

[53] *Regis criminibus...crescere.*] "He grew into popularity and power by accusations against the king." *Crimen* is often used in this sense; the verb "rise," in English, has often the force of *crescere* here.

[54] *Fraudi.*] "Lest it should prove dangerous to them not to have come." *Fraus* in Livy often signifies "injury," "harm."—See ch. 24.

[55] *Stirpe ultimâ.*] "The first origin of Servius."

[56] *Ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset.*] That the fortune of the more wealthy might be made conspicuous for the purpose of exciting odium"—*insignis* here is the same as *conspectus* or *conspicuus* (words often used in Livy,) and designates a marked or distinguished object, which ought to arrest men's notice.

CHAP. XLVIII.—[57] *Multo quàm servum potiorem, filium regis, regni hæredem.*] "Who, as being a king's son, would be a much fitter heir for the kingdom than a slave."

[58] *Per licentiam.*] "By permission, with impunity;" or "by arbitrary insolence." *Eludentem.* This properly means "to parry off a blow" from an antagonist in a gladiator's fight.—See B. 2. c. 36. n.

[59] *Ad cogendum senatum.*] It appears that the senators fled in the tumult.

[60] *Semianimi regio comitatu.*] Livy mentioned their flight in the preceding sentence; probably, therefore, we should read *se minimè regio comitatu*, says Walker; this reading of the passage, which most commentators say is corrupt, offers less violence to the text than any other which has been proposed, and furnishes the same meaning as most of them. Many reject the words as an interpolation of some transcriber. In many MSS. and copies *semianimis regio comitatu* is used.

[61] *Cyprium vicum.*] "The top of street Cyprius." This was inhabited by Sabines. *Cyprius,* in the Sabine dialect, is the same as *bonus,* according to Varro.

[62] *Non abhorret à cætero scelere.*] "It is not inconsistent with the rest of her atrocious conduct." *Abhorrere* is sometimes joined to a dative; so we say in English, "abhorrent from," or "abhorrent to," a thing, in the same sense.

[63] *Nec reverita.*] "Not abashed at such a multitude of men."

[64] *Regemque prima appellavit.*] "Was the first to salute him by the name of king."

[65] *Dianium.*] A place consecrated to Diana. So *Vulcanium, Minervium.*

[66] *Flectenti.*] (Scil. *Tulliæ.*) This may depend on *restitit* or *ostendit.* *Flectente,* taken absolutely, is the common reading. Gronovius would read *flectens* or *flectendo,* and refers it to *auriga.* —Most MSS. read *flectere carpentum in dextram jussit aurigam, ut in clivum, &c.*

[67] *Orbium.*] This was so called on account of its circular windings (*orbes*). *Virbium* is the common reading, which is quite incorrect, as the hill Virbius is between Bovillæ and Aricia; and Bovillæ was eleven miles from Rome on the Appian road.

[68] *Fœdum.*] "The shocking and inhuman wickedness of her conduct is handed down to us ever since; and the place serves as a monument to record it."

[69] *Quibus iratis......exitus sequerentur.*] "Through whose vengeance events were likely soon to follow."

[70] *Quia unius esset.*] "Because it was vested in one person."

CHAP. XLIX.—[71] *Superbo.*] This sometimes, as here, means "inhuman." See Æn. 8. 118 and 196.

[72] *Eò accedebat.*] "To this was added the fact, that a man

who placed no hope in the love of his fellow-citizens, should defend his kingdom by striking terror into them."

[73] *Consiliis.*] This word frequently in Cicero means counsellors, as here. See B. 3. c. 15. n.

[74] *Perque eam causam.*] "And under that pretext."

[75] *Sed unde.*] "But persons from whom." *Unde* is often applied to persons. So is *ibi* and other adverbs of place.

[76] *Octavio Mamilio.*] Sigonius, who is supported by others, thinks that, as *Octavius* was the common name of a family at Rome, and as Dionysius and Festus assert that *Mamilius* here designates the name of that which he belonged to, we should here read *Octavo*, for a *nomen* was never used as a *prænomen*, or private name, of an individual. But Gronovius well replies, that what may be a *nomen*, or the name of a whole family at Rome, may be used as the *prænomen* of an individual amongst some of the other states of Italy.

[77] *Ulixe.*] Commonly written *Ulysse.*

CHAP. L.—[79] *Ad lucum Ferentinæ.*] This was at the foot of the Alban hill. The Latins, from the destruction of Alba until the consulship of P. Decius Mus, (when they were finally subdued) used to hold their general councils here, to deliberate on all matters that concerned their common government. There was here a sacred fountain. See next chapter.

[80] *Diem servavit.*] "Kept or observed the day."

[81] *Quidem mussitantes, vulgò tamen.*] Most MSS. and old copies have *quidam ;* but *vulgò* evidently opposes this ; what only a "few" persons do, cannot be said to be done "commonly."

[82] *Obnoxios.*] "When in his power, at his mercy." So Sall. Jug., *qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis.*

[83] *Bene crediderint.*] "Which if his own people did well to entrust to him, or if it was in fact entrusted to him, and not seized on by murder, so ought the Latins to entrust it to him ; and yet not even so indeed ought they entrust it to him as being a stranger. But if even his own people rue his power,"—Most MSS. have *alienigenæ deberent.*

[84] *Facinorosus.*] "Daring." *Facinus* always means "a bold and daring deed," but not always "a wicked one."

[85] *Disceptatorem se sumptum.*] "He was chosen arbitrator." See B. 5. c. 4.

[86] *Tulisse tacitum.*] He did not state this without a remark from Tullus. *Tacitum ferre* and *impunitum ferre aliquid,* are applied to a person who says or does any thing without recrimination, and punishment. See B. 3. c. 45.

[87] *Nullam breviorem esse cognitionem.*] "That no investigation could be sooner decided."

CHAP. LI.—[88] *Pro imperio.*] "By virtue of his own power."

[89] *Adversæ factionis quosdam.*] "Some of a party among the Latins opposed to Turnus."

[90] *Diversorium.*] "His lodging." *Diversorium,* or *diverti-*

culum, is properly, 'a hotel or inn on the way,' to which people turn aside (*diverto*) from the road.

[91] *Vim.*] "Quantity." So, Sall. Jug., *vim magnam pulveris.* See B. 29. c. 36. So also in English we use "power" in vulgar phraseology for "quantity" or "number."

[92] *Auctor concilii.*] The person who convened the meeting, *i. e.* Tarquin himself.

[93] *Spem destituerit.*] He (Tarquin) defeated his hopes by his delaying. So B. 35. c. 39, *si tu spem meam destitueris.*

[94] *Non dubitare.*] "That he himself had no doubt, if truth were reported to him, but that Turnus intended to come——."

[95] *Quòd videbatur ob eam differri cædes potuisse.*] "Because it seemed that the murder might have possibly been deferred by reason of that delay."

CHAP. LII.—[96] *Novantem res.*] "Plotting innovation or sedition."

[97] *Vetusto jure.*] "A right long since established."

[98] *Eo fœdere.*] See c. 24.

[99] *Utilitatis . . . . omnium causâ.*] "But for the sake of the interest of all, he rather wished that the league should be renewed."

[1] *Stare ac sentire cum rege videbant.*] Scil. *Latini videbant. Videbantur* is another reading, *scil. capita Latini nominis videbantur.*

[2] *Ne ducem suum . . . . haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis.*] "In order that they should have no leader of their own, or a separate command, or private colours of their own, he mixed up the companies of Romans and Latins, so as out of a pair of companies to make single companies, and of single companies to make a pair." *i. e.* Out of a pair of companies, one Roman and one Latin, he took half of each, and so made up one; and of a single Roman or Latin company he made a pair, by distributing the two parts of it between to separate new ones.

[3] *Centuriones.*] After this junction of the two armies, all the companies were considered as Roman companies, and as every Roman company before became now two, by joining each half of it to half a Latin company, the number of Roman companies was doubled, and each was commanded by a Roman centurion. But afterwards, as the number of men in a *manipulus* increased, there were two centurions to each. *Manipulus*, so called because its standard was originally a handful (*manipulus, qu. manum impleo*) of hay tied to a pole.

CHAP. LIII.—[4] *Ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset.*] "Had not his degeneracy in other points counterbalanced even this merit,"—this use of the participle as a noun substantive, is found elsewhere in Livy, as B. 4. c 49, *tentatum ab L. Sextio, ut rogationem ferret, per intercessionem collegarum discussum est.*—B. 7. c. 22, *tentatum domi per dictatorem, ut*

ambo patricii consules crearentur, rem ad interregnum perduxit.—See B. 4. c. 59. n. for more instances.

[5] *In ducentos ampliùs post suam ætatem.*] "Which was to last for two hundred years longer after his time."

[6] *Divendendâ prædâ quadraginta talenta argenti* (*aurique,*) *recepisset.*] "When he had reserved (or saved) forty talents of silver by the sale of the plunder." Some read *dividendâ*—*quadringenta.* But it is not likely that he distributed this immense sum among his soldiers. *Aurique* in the text is considered as spurious. Dionysius, B. 4. p. 251, says, the sum was four hundred talents of silver, which was the tithe of the whole plunder—*τὸ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς δεκατευθὲν ἀργύριον τετρακοσίων οὐ μειὸν γένεσθαι τάλαντον.* This appears to be a prodigious sum in those days, particularly as being the tenth of the spoils of one small town. *Refecisset,* which Brisson shows often means the same as *colligere,* is a very common reading.—See ch. 55. n. 33.

[7] *Obsidendi quoque.*] Trying it by blockade too, as well as (*vi*) by storm.

[8] *Minimus.*] Dionysius says he was the eldest.

[9] *Frequentiæ tædere.*] "He was dissatisfied even with the great number of his own children."

[10] *Ardoris aliquid . . . . inventurum.*] That perhaps he would find persons, who would not only protect him, but even feel an ardour to engage in war, &c.

[11] *Morarentur.*] "If they should pay him no attention, or detain him." *Moror* may signify either. *Moverentur* is another reading.

[12] *Vetant mirari.*] "They bid him not to be surprised."

[13] *Si alia desint.*] "If other objects for exercising his cruelty upon failed him."

CHAP. LIV.—[14] *Ubi, quum de aliis rebus assentire.*] "After that he was admitted to their public councils: where, while he declared that he would submit in other matters to the opinions of the Gabinian elders, who were better acquainted with them, he assumed to himself the privilege of perpetually recommending war, and claimed for himself superior knowledge in this, because he was "acquainted with" (*nôsset*) the strength of both people, and "knew" (*sciret*) that the tyranny of a king, which even his own children had been unable to endure, was surely an object of hate to free citizens." Mark the different use and signification here of *noscere* and *scire.* All that I think necessary to say here is, that *noscere,* in general, is to know or be "acquainted with" any thing as an object of preception, as, *novi ædes, hominem, vultus, vires, &c.* *Novi* the perfect denotes present knowledge and past perception; though properly referring to substance and its attributes as objects of perception, yet it sometimes refers metaphorically to any other object apprehended by the mind.—*Scire* is to know any thing as a matter of fact, or any truth as an object of

conviction, as, Plaut. Cas. prol. *non nôrunt, scio,* "they are not acquainted with the play, I know as a fact," or "am convinced of."—Ter. Andr. A. 5, Sc. 4. Ch. *Phania ille frater meus fuit.* Sim. *Nôram et scio.* "I knew the man, and know as a fact, or am convinced, that he was your brother."—*Scire* seldom or never denotes acquaintance with a sensible object as apprehended by the mind.

[15] *Rebellandum.*] "To renew the war." This is the proper meaning of the word; and the expression is now used, because Tarquin had suspended hostilities, which were now revived. Crevier thinks it means to "rebel," because they were before this under subjection to the Romans, and the words *Gabiis receptis,* in beginning of next chapter, seem to justify this interpretation.

[16] *Quid ageretur.*] "What scheme was in contemplation."

[17] *Tacitis ambagibus.*] "Silent intimations." See c. 56. n. 7.

[18] *Suâ ipsos invidiâ opportunos.*] "Others of themselves fit for his purpose from the odium excited against them," *i. e.* who could be safely attacked, for their want of popularity.

[19] *In quibus minùs speciosa criminatio.*] With regard to whom impeachment would appear less plausible.

[20] *Patuit volentibus fuga.*] Some, who wished to fly, were allowed.

[21] *Divisui.*] Were distributed among the people. See B. 33. c. 36. The common reading is *divisa.*

Chap LV.—[22] *Receptis.*] "Recovered," because it was one of those Latin cities, that had, before this, become subject to the Romans. Yet, see B. 2. c. 39.

[23] *Jovis Templum.*] This consisted of three parts; the middle was sacred to Jove, that on the right to Minerva, and that on the left to Juno.

[24] *Monte Tarpeio.*] So called from Tarpeia, who was buried there; (see ch. 11.;) it was before that time called *Saturnius:* it was afterwards generally known by the name of the Capitoline Hill; the name Tarpeian was confined to a high precipice on one side of it, from which malefactors, especially those, guilty of treason, were thrown, as a punishment, and were dashed to pieces.

[25] *Tarquinios.*] Let the young reader observe this peculiarity of style; this is the collocation of the words, *Tarquinios, ambos reges, vovisse et perfecisse,* scil. *patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse.* Some make *Tarquinios ambos reges* depend on *secundùm* understood. See ch. 38, at the end.

[26] *Ut libera à cæteris religionibus area esset.*] "And that the ground might be free from consecration to all other gods, and be appropriated entirely to Jupiter, and to the temple which was to be built thereon, he determined to cancel the inauguration of the shrines and chapels, several of which, &c."

[27] *Movisse numen.*] "Exerted or showed their power." *Numen,* from *nuo,* is properly the nod, hence the will and power of the divinity; sometimes it means the divinity itself.

[28] *Termini.*] This was the god of boundaries; he was represented by a stone placed erect, large stones being in early times the chief boundaries and landmarks; he was worshipped, according to Numa's institution, with the first fruits. Livy, Epitome, and B. 5. c. 54, and Dionysius, B. 3. p. 202, mention, that the shrine of *Juventus* (or god of youth) also was not molested.

[29] *Caput rerum.*] Hence the place was called *capitol.* Others imagine that the word "capitol" comes from *Caput Toli;* and that Tolus was the man's name, whose head was dug up there.

[30] *Destinatæ erant.*] See ch. 38, at the end, and ch. 53, at the beginning.

[31] *Crediderim.*] See ch. 46. n. 36. Gronovius says, that 400,000lbs. of silver are about 666 talents and 40 minæ. Walker, I think, judiciously observes, that as Livy thought such a sum so incredibly enormous, *quadringenta talenta* here and ch. 53, which some give, is an improbable reading.

[32] *Pisoni.*] L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the historian, flourished in the time of the third Punic war.

[33] *Fundamenta non exsuperaturam.*] "And a sum that would be more than sufficient for laying the foundation of any building, even these magnificent buildings of the present day."

[34] *Operis.*] "Labourers," the word has often this meaning. See B. 3. c. 15. n.

[35] *Qui quum haud parvus et ipse......labor.*] "Though this labour, which was not trifling in itself, was added to the hardships of military service."

[36] *Foros.*] Benches to sit on. Livy, c. 35 and 38, says, that Tarquinius Priscus erected these seats and built these sewers. But it appears from this and Dionysius Halic. Antiq. B. 4. p. 246, that these works were not finished until the time of Tarquinius Superbus.

[37] *Nova hæc magnificentia.*] "These magnificent buildings of modern times." See n. 33.

[38] *Terrâ marique.*] Signia was an inland town in the middle of Latium, and Circeii was on the sea coast.

CHAP. LVI.—[39] *Elapsus.*] Let the young reader observe, that most verbs compounded with *e* or *ex* are sometimes found with an ablative with a preposition, as here; sometimes with an ablative without a preposition; sometimes with an accusative with a preposition; sometimes with an accusative without a preposition. See B. 2. c. 37. n.

[40] *Sortium.*] These were billets somewhat like dice, on which the answers of the gods were often written; they were thrown into an urn, and then drawn out, or sometimes cast like dice, and their import was explained by the priest. Hence the word came to signify generally an oracle, or any response of the gods.—See Vandale on Oracles, c. 14.

[41] *Sorore regis natus.*] Dionysius says that she was his father's sister, and the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus.

[42] *Juvenis longè alius ingenio quàm cujus simulationem induerat.*] "A man of a far different cast of mind from that which he had assumed the disguise of." This name, like *junior*, was given from the age of twenty-five to the age of forty-five. Brutus at this time had two sons grown up to manhood.—See B. 2. c. 4. *Puer* was given up to the age of seventeen; *adolescens*, from seventeen to twenty-five.

[43] *Primores civitatis.*] Scil. *interfectos esse "ab avunculo, inque iis fratrem suum interfectum esse audîsset."*—See B. 3. c. 50. n.

[44] *In animo suo quidquam regi timendum.*] "He resolved to leave the king nothing to dread from his talents, or wish for from his fortune."

[45] *Opperiretur tempora sua.*] "Wait for his proper opportunity." See B. 4. c. 7. *Tempus* is sometimes used in this sense. So Sall., (Cæsar's speech) says, *tempus, dies, fortuna.* Here *tempus* means "opportunity," and *dies* "length of time."

[46] *Corneo.*] "Made of corneil wood."

[47] *Per ambages effigiem animi sui.*] "Which was mystically a representation of his own mind." See ch. 54, *tacitis ambagibus.* Horace says, *ingenium ingens inculto latet hoc sub corpore.*

[48] *Incessit.*] "Seized," from *incesso.*—See B. 3. c. 59. n.

[49] *Pythicam vocem.*] The answer of the Pythian, or priestess of Apollo at Delphos, who was called *Pythicus,* either from the monster Python, which he slew after the deluge, or from πυθέσθαι, "to ask, or consult," as his oracles were those mostly consulted.

CHAP. LVII.—[50] *Ut in eâ regione.*] "Considering the barbarous state of that country and that age."

[51] *Præter aliam superbiam.*] "Detesting his government, independently of the other instances of his tyranny, because they felt indignant, &c." *Infestos* refers to *animos popularium.*

[52] *Commeatus.*] "Furloughs," leaves of absence given to the soldiers.

[53] *Egerii filius.*] Dionysius says he was his grandson.

[54] *Certamine accenso.*] "When a dispute was kindled between them."

[55] *Quin si vigor juventæ inest.*] "Why do we not, since we possess vigour of youth, mount our horses, and inspect in person the dispositions of our wives? Let that be the surest proof to every one, which shall meet his eyes, when the arrival of her husband is not expected by the wife." *Quin* is often interrogatively used in Livy in the commencement of a sentence, to signify "why not rather." Let the reader remark this abrupt and unexpected introduction of the speaker's words; it is a peculiarity of which instances are to be found in the best classic writers. It is, says Longinus, c. 27, a lively burst of impassioned eloquence.—See Quinctil. B. 9. c. 3. Virgil, speaking of the labours of Hercules, B. 8. l. 291, says:

———— ut duros mille labores
Rege sub Eurystheo, fatis Junonis iniquæ,

> Pertulerit. "Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres,
> Hylæumque Pholumque manu; tu Cressia mactas
> Prodigia, et vastum Nemeæ sub rupe leonem, &c."

And B. 9. l. 634,

> Et fugit horrendum stridens elapsa sagitta,
> Perque caput Remuli venit, et cava tempora ferro
> Trajicit. "I, verbis virtutem illude superbis, &c."

Milton has instances of it. Thus speaking of Adam and Eve Paradise Lost, B. 4. l. 720, he says:

> Thus at their shady lodge arrived, both stood,
> Both turn'd and under open sky ador'd
> The God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven,
> Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
> And starry pole. "Thou also mad'st the night,
> Maker omnipotent, and thou the day, &c."

Homer also gives instances of it.—So, Il. B. 15. l. 346,

> Ἕκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν ἀΰσας,
> Νήυσσιν ἐπισσεύεσθαι, ἐᾶν δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα.
> Ὃν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἑτέρωθι νοήσω,
> Αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι, &c.

There are also instances of it in Horace, as B. 1. Ep. 7,

> ———conspexit, ut aiunt,
> Adrasum quendam, vacuâ tonsoris in umbrâ
> Cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues,
> "Demetri, puer, * * * *
> * * abi, quære, et refer, unde domo, quis, &c."

See Livy B. 1. c. 13. n. 61.

[56] *Age sanè, omnes.*] "Come on, indeed, they all exclaim."

[57] *In convivio luxuque.*] The same as *convivio luxurioso*, by a figure called ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, which is employed by the best writers in every language. But I do not see the absolute necessity of supposing that figure here. *Luxus* may signify indulgence of any kind and so differ from *convivium*.

CHAP. LVIII.—[58] *Hospitale cubiculum.*] "The chamber appropriated to strangers," *hospites*.

[59] *Nullam opem propé.*] "No aid near her."

[60] *Velut victrix libido.*] His lust triumphing, as if it gained, forsooth, a noble victory.

[61] *Ferox expugnato.*] "Elated at having overpowered a woman's honour." *Expugnare* is properly "to take a place by storm." *Oppugnare*, "to attack a place."—See B. 3. c. 39. n.

[62] *Nuncium eundem.*] "The same message."

[63] *Cum singulis fidelibus amicis.*] "Each with a faithful friend."

[64] *Ita facto maturatoque opus.*] "That it was necessary they should do so, and use dispatch."—See B. 3. c. 27. n. 5.

[65] *Cum quo fortè Romam rediens.*] "In company with whom perchance returning to Rome, he was met by his wife's messenger.

[66] *Satin' salvæ.*] Scil. *res*—"is all well?"

[67] *Pestiferum.*] "Which was destructive to me, and, if you be men, to himself also."

[68] *Mentem peccare.*] "That it is the mind, and not the body, that commits crime; and that, where there is no intention, there is no guilt."

[69] *Cultrum, quem—eum defigit.*] *Eum* is not necessary here, either for syntax or meaning; its introduction is a pleonasm borrowed from the Greeks, particularly the Attics, who at the conclusion of a sentence or member, introduce the demonstrative pronoun, to add emphasis to the substantive it agrees with. To the reader of Demosthenes, such a pleonasm is familiar.—See B. 3. c. 64. n.

CHAP. LIX.—[70] *Exsecuturum.*] "That I will pursue." This verb is similarly used elsewhere.

[71] *Expugnandum regnum.*] "To destroy kingly power."—See c. 58. n. 61.

[72] *In forum.*] *i. e.* The forum of Collatia.

[73] *Castigator.*] "Who rebuked them for their tears."

[74] *Pari præsidio relicto Collatiæ ad portas.*] Equal to the number that went to Rome, say the commentators. Gronovius and others would prefer *pars præsidio relicti.* I think these words simply mean "an adequate" or "sufficient guard;" *par*, frequently, in Livy and other authors, means what is a "match;" what is "adequate or sufficient for" a thing. There appears to me no good reason why he should make an even division of his forces (as the commentators explain the passage,) and besides Collatia, from its comparative insignificance, did not require as many men to keep down Tarquin's party, as was necessary to be sent to the capital city, Rome. *Custodibus datis;* the *custodes* here seem to be commanders of this guard.

[75] *Regibus.*] The king and his children.

[76] *Primores civitatis.*] These, it seems, were Lucretius, Collatinus, and Brutus, and not the patricians generally. This was on the first appearance of the armed multitude from Collatia; it is not even hinted that this body was as yet joined by the Romans; on the contrary, it is said they were terror-struck by it.

[77] *Haud temere.*] "Not without some good cause."

[78] *Tribunum Celerum.*] "The master of the horse." The horse were called *celeres*, ch. 15. This Livy mentions to show that he could convene a meeting of the people, as being a magistrate, nobody else having authority to do so. See Dionysius, B. 4. p. 266.

[79] *Tricipitini.*] Lucretius.

[80] *Cui morte filiæ causa mortis.*] "Who must feel the cause of his daughter's death a source of greater indignation and misery than her death itself."

[81] *His atrocioribusque.*] "By detailing these, and, I believe, other facts still more shocking, which the then heinous state of

things suggested, though not easy to be related by writers, he worked on the inflamed multitude so far, that they deprived the king of his power." Livy says that there were other atrocities stated by Brutus and believed by the people, which the historian cannot state with sufficient authenticity, as not possessing, at such a distance of time, sufficient information about them. Gebhardus, on the authority of some MSS., would read *subjecit*. This, in my opinion, is a better reading than *subjicit*.

[82] *Ut imperium regi abrogaret.*] *Rogo* signified, to ask of the people, in the usual form *(jubeatis velitisque, Quirites)* at the public assembly, according to the object for which it may be convened, to enact some law, elect a magistrate, &c. *Abrogo*, was properly "to ask the people to annul some decision of theirs;" it mostly signified "to ask for the annulling of some law;" hence it comes to signify (generally) "to annul," to take away. *Arrogo*, was properly "to ask for some addition to a law." *Derogo*, "to ask that some part of a law may be annulled." *Subrogo*, "to ask that a part of a law may be substituted for another." It was mostly used to signify, "to ask for the substitution of one magistrate for another." *Suggerere* or *sufficere* meant the "act" of substituting such magistrate. These words are taken in a general sense to refer to other things. See Baxter's Reliquiæ.

[83] *Præfecto.*] This was an extraordinary magistrate appointed to govern the city in the absence of the king, and afterwards of the consuls. This office lasted until the appointment of prætors; and, after that time, the *Prætor Urbanus*, in the absence of the consuls, discharged their duties, except when they went to the Alban Hill on the "Latin holidays;" and, on this occasion, the *præfectus urbis* was still appointed, merely to keep up the old form, and without possessing any substantial power.—See Tacit. Ann. 6. 11.

[84] *Furias.*] "The furies that avenge the injuries offered by children to their parents." These were a little before called *parentum ultores*.—See also c. 48.

CHAP. LX.—[85] *Exsilium indictum.*] "A proclamation of banishment issued against him." This year was also famous for the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ* from Athens.

[86] *Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tanquam in regnum suum profectus.*] Dionysius says that he was made king of Gabii by his father.

[87] *A præfecto urbis ex commentariis.*] This means that the plan of the consular government was found in the commentaries of the king, and had been drawn out, when he intended to resign his power;—see ch. 48, at the end; or that the form of elections at the *comitia centuriata* was according to the plan he established;—see ch. 43; or it may signify both. Dionysius (B. 4. p. 269,) says, that the *comitia* were held by Lucretius not as præfect of the city, but as *interrex*.

T. LIVII PATAVINI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPITOME.

Brutus jurejurando populum adstrinxit, neminem regnare Romæ passuros: Tarquinium Collatinum, collegam suum, propter affinitatem Tarquiniorum suspectum, coëgit consulatu se abdicare, et civitate cedere. Bona regum diripi jussit; agrum Marti consecravit, qui Campus Martius nominatus est. Adolescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et sororis filios, quia conjuraverant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit. Servo indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit; ex cujus nomine vindicta est appellata. Quum adversùs reges, qui, contractis Vejentium et Tarquiniensium copiis, bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arunte, filio Superbi, commortuus est; eumque matronæ annum luxerunt. P. Valerius consul legem de provocatione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est. Porsena, rex Clusinorum, bello pro Tarquiniis suscepto, quum ad Janiculum venisset, ne Tiberim transiret virtute Coclitis Horatii prohibitus est; qui, dum alii pontem sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscos sustinuit: et, ponte rupto, armatus se in flumen misit, et ad suos tranavit. Alterum accessit virtutis exemplum à Mucio, qui, quum ad feriendum Porsenam castra hostium intrâsset, occiso scribâ, quem regem esse putabat, comprehensus impositam altaribus manum, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est; dixitque tales trecentos esse conjuratos in mortem ipsius regis. Quorum admiratione coactus Porsena pacis conditiones ferre, bellum omisit, acceptis obsidibus; ex quibus virgo una

Clœlia, deceptis custodibus, per Tiberim ad suos tranavit; et, quum reddita esset, à Porsenâ honorificè remissa, equestri statuâ donata est. Ap. Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit. Ob hoc Claudia tribus adjecta est. Numerus tribuum ampliatus est, ut essent viginti et una. Adversùs Tarquinium Superbum, cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem, A. Postumius dictator prosperè pugnavit apud lacum Regillum. Plebs, quum propter nexos ob æs alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio Menenii Agrippæ à seditione revocata est. Idem Agrippa, quum decessisset, propter paupertatem publico impendio elatus est. Tribuni plebis quinque creati sunt. Oppidum Volscorum Corioli captum est virtute et operâ C. Marcii, qui ob hoc Coriolanus vocatus est. Ti. Atinius, vir de plebe, quum in visu admonitus esset, ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret, et neglexisset, amisso filio debilis factus, postquam, delatus ad senatum lecticâ, eadem illa indicaverat, usu pedum recepto domum reversus est. Quum C. Marcius Coriolanus, qui in exsilium erat pulsus, dux Volscorum factus, exercitum hostium urbi Romæ admovisset, et missi ad eum primùm legati. postea sacerdotes, frustra deprecati essent, ne bellum patriæ inferret, Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor impetraverunt ab eo, ut recederet. Lex agraria primùm lata est. Sp. Cassius consularis regni crimine damnatus est, necatusque. Oppia, virgo Vestalis, ob incestum viva defossa est. Quum vicini hostes Vejentes incommodi magìs, quàm graves essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum gerendum depoposcit; misitque in id trecentos sex armatos, qui ad Cremeram ad unum ab hostibus cæsi sunt, uno impubere domi relicto. A. Claudius consul, quum adversùs Volscos contumaciâ exercitûs malè pugnatum esset, decimum quemque militum fuste percussit. Res præterea adversùm Volscos, et Æquos, et Vejentes, et seditiones inter Patres plebemque, continet.

I. Liberi jam hinc populi Romani res, pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque[1] legum potentiora quàm hominum, peragam. Quæ libertas ut lætior esset, proxima regis superbia[2] fecerat; nam priores ita regnârunt, ut haud immeritò omnes deinceps conditores partium certè urbis[3], quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctæ multitudini addiderunt, numerentur; neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriæ Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit[4], si libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutelâ inviolati templi[5], aut libertatem aut certè impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari cœpta esset tribuniciis procellis? et in alienâ urbe cum Patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora conjugum ac liberorum, caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore assuescitur[6], animos eorum consociâsset? Dissipatæ res nondum adultæ discordiâ forent, quas fovit[7] tranquilla moderatio imperii, eóque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem indè magìs, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quàm quòd deminutum[8] quidquam sit ex regiâ potestate, numeres. Omnia jura, omnia insignia[9], primi consules tenuêre; id modò cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collegâ, fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quàm deinde custos fuit. Omnium primùm avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit neminem Romæ passuros regnare. Deinde, quò plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradûs lectis ad trecentorum summam[10] explevit; traditumque[11] inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui patres, quique conscripti, essent; conscriptos, videlicet, in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantùm[12] profuit ad concordiam civitatis, jungendosque Patribus[13] plebis animos.

II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et, quia quædam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, ne ubiubi[14] regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subjecêre, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima erat cura, officeret; ac nescio an, nimis undique eam minimis quoque rebus muniendo, modum excesserint[15]. Consulis enim alterius, quum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit. "Nimiùm "Tarquinios regno assuêsse; initium à Prisco factum. "Regnâsse deinde Ser. Tullium. Ne intervallo qui-"dem facto oblitum, tanquam alieni, regni[16], Superbum "Tarquinium velut hæreditatem gentis scelere ac vi "repetîsse. Pulso Superbo, penes Collatinum imperium "esse. Nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere; non placere "nomen; periculosum libertati esse." Hic primò sensim tentantium animos sermo[17] per totam civitatem est datus; sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad concionem vocat. Ibi omnium primùm jusjurandum populi recitat, "neminem regnare passuros, nec esse "Romæ unde periculum libertati foret. Id summâ ope "tuendum esse; neque ullam rem, quæ eò pertineat, "contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causâ[18]; "nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas reipublicæ vinceret. "Non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem "recuperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen[19], "non solùm in civitate, sed etiam in imperio, esse. Id "officere, id obstare libertati[20]. Hunc tu," inquit, "tuâ voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Memini-"mus, fatemur, ejecisti reges. Absolve beneficium[21] "tuum. Aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non "solùm reddent cives tui, auctore me; sed, si quid "deest, munificè augebunt. Amicus abi; exonera civi-"tatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis "cum gente Tarquiniâ regnum hinc abiturum." Consuli primò tam novæ rei ac subitæ admiratio incluserat vocem. Dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt: eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minùs. Postquam Sp. Lucretius, major[22] ætate ac dignitate, socer præterea ipsius, agere variè, rogando alternis suadendoque[23], cœpit, ut vinci

se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa, cum bonorum amissione additâque aliâ insuper ignominiâ, acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu; rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis, civitate cessit[24]. Brutus ex senatûsconsulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniæ gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adjutore reges ejecerat.

III. Quum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterùm, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem propè libertas amissa est. Erant in Romanâ juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno[25] lubido solutior fuerat, æquales sodalesque[26] adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum, æquato jure omnium, licentiam quærentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse[27] servitutem inter se conquerebantur. "Regem hominem "esse, à quo impetres[28], ubi jus, ubi injuria, opus sit; "esse gratiæ locum[29], esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen "nôsse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi, quàm potenti; nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, si modum excesseris. Periculosum esse, in tot humanis erroribus, solâ innocentiâ "vivere[30]." Ita, jam suâ sponte ægris animis, legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione reditûs, bona tantùm repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit; ne non reddita, belli causa; reddita, belli materia et adjumentum essent. Interim legati alii alia moliri[31], apertè bona repetentes, clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et, tanquam ad id quod agi videbatur[32], ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertentant. A quibus placidè oratio accepta est, his literas ab Tarquiniis reddunt; et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

IV. Vitelliis Aquilliisque fratribus primò commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat; jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi[33], Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii

avunculi assumunt. Præterea et nobiles aliquot adolescentes conscii assumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim, quum in senatu vicisset sententia, quæ censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam moræ in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda à consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando absumunt; evincuntque instando, ut literæ sibi ad Tarquinios darentur; nam aliter qui crediturus eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis afferri[34]? Datæ literæ, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam, quum, pridie[35] quàm legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur, et cœnatum fortè apud Vitellios esset, conjuratique ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui jam antea id senserat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut literæ legatis darentur, quæ deprehensæ rem coarguere possent, exspectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules, ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque profecti domo, sine tumultu rem omnem oppressêre; literarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplò in vincula conjectis, de legatis paullulum addubitatum est; et, quanquam visi sunt commisisse[36] ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

V. De bonis regiis, quæ reddi antè censuerant, res integra refertur ad Patres[37]. Illi victi irâ vetuêre reddi, vetuêre in publicum redigi[38]. Diripienda plebi sunt data, ut, contacta regiâ prædâ[39], spem in perpetuum cum his pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde Campus fuit[40]. Fortè ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi; quem campi fructum quia religiosum[41] erat consumere, desectam[42] cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudêre in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aquâ, ut mediis caloribus solet; ita in vadis hæsitantis frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo; insulam inde paullatim, et aliis[43], quæ fert temere flumen, eódem invectis, factam. Postea credo additas moles manuque adjutam[44], ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis

esset. Direptis bonis regum, damnati proditores, sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eò, quòd pœnæ capiendæ ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit; et, qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes. Sed à ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos; miserebatque non pœnæ magìs homines, quàm sceleris[45], quo pœnam meriti essent: illos, eo[46] potissimùm anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Juniâ, Patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli, proderent. Consules in sedem processêre suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis cædunt, securique feriunt; quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque, et os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente[47] animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium. Secundùm pœnam[48] nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, præmium indici, pecunia ex ærario, libertas, et civitas, data. Ille primus dicitur vindictâ[49] liberatus. Quidam vindictæ quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum[50] observatum, ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

VI. His, sicut acta erant, nunciatis, incensus Tarquinius non dolore solùm tantæ ad irritum cadentis[51] spei, sed etiam odio irâque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellum apertè moliendum ratus, circumire supplex Etruriæ urbes; orare maximè Vejentes Tarquiniensesque, "ne se ortum[52], ejusdem sanguinis, ex-" torrem, egentem, ex tanto modò regno[53], cum liberis "adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios "peregrè in regnum Romam accitos; se regem, au-" gentem bello Romanum imperium, à proximis sceleratâ "conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus "satìs dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; "bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers "sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, "et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, ad-" juvarent; suas quoque veteres injurias ultum irent,

"toties cæsas legiones, agrum ademptum." Hæc moverunt Vejentes; ac pro se quisque, Romano saltem duce[54], ignominias demendas, belloque amissa repetenda, minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses[55] nomen ac cognatio movet. Pulchrum videbatur suos Romæ regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatum exercitus, ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos, secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviàm hosti consules eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo[56] primus eques hostium agminis fuit; præerat Aruns Tarquinius, filius regis; rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Aruns, ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde jam propiùs ac certiùs facie quoque Brutum, cognovit, inflammatus irâ, "Ille est vir," inquit, "qui "nos extorres expulit patriâ. Ipse, en, ille, nostris de"coratus insignibus, magnificè incedit[57]. Dii, regum "ultores, adeste." Concitat calcaribus equum, atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum[58] ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus; avidè itaque se certamini offert. Adeóque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor, ut, contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus hærentes hastis[59] moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna cœpit; neque ita multò pòst et pedites supervenient. Ibi variâ victoriâ, et velut æquo Marte[60], pugnatum est. Dextra utrinque cornua vicêre, læva superata. Vejentes, vinci ab Romano milite assueti, fusi fugatique. Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solùm, sed etiam ab suá parte Romanum pepulit.

VII. Ita quum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut, omissâ irritâ re, nocte ambo exercitus, Vejens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnæ, silentio proximæ noctis ex sylvâ Arsiâ ingentem editam vocem; Sylvani vocem eam creditam; hæc dicta: "Uno "plus[61] Etruscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello "Romanum." Ita certè inde abiére Romani, ut victores; Etrusci, pro victis. Nam, postquam illuxit, nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul

spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegæ funus, quanto tum potuit apparatu, fecit. Sed multo majus morti decus publica fuit mœstitia, eò ante omnia insignis, quia matronæ annum[62], ut parentem, eum luxerunt, quòd tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitiæ fuisset. Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi, ex favore[63] non invidia modò, sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine[64], orta. Regnum eum affectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et ædificabat in summâ Veliâ[65]; ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Hæc dicta vulgò creditaque quum indignitate angerent[66] consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo, summissis fascibus[67] in concionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam, populi, quàm consulis, majestatem vimque majorem esse. Ubi audire jussi, consul "laudare fortunam "collegæ, quòd, liberatâ patriâ, in summo honore, pro "republicâ dimicans, maturâ gloriâ, necdum se vertente "in invidiam, mortem occubuisset; se, superstitem "gloriæ suæ, ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex "liberatore patriæ, ad Aquillios se Vitelliosque reci-"disse[68]. Nunquamne ergo," inquit, "ulla adeò à vobis "spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? "Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupi-"ditatis regni crimen subiturum timerem? Ego, si in "ipsâ arce Capitolioque habitarem[69], metui me crederem "posse à civibus meis? tam levi momento[70] mea apud "vos fama pendet? Adeóne est fundata leviter fides, "ut, ubi sim, quàm qui sim, magìs referat? Non ob-"stabunt P. Valerii ædes libertati vestræ, Quirites; "tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modò "ædes, sed colli etiam subjiciam, ut vos supra sus-"pectum me civem habitetis. In Veliâ ædificent, "quibus meliùs, quàm P. Valerio, creditur libertas." Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam; et, ubi nunc Vicæpotæ[71] est, domus in infimo clivo ædificata.

VIII. Latæ deinde leges, non solùm quæ regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quæ adeò in contrarium verterent[72], ut popularem[73] etiam facerent; inde cognomen factum Publicolæ est. Ante omnes de pro-

vocatione adversùs magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite[74] ejus, qui regni occupandi consilia inîsset, gratæ in vulgus leges fuere. Quas quum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde[75] comitia collegæ subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui, magno natu, non sufficientibus jam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem. Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriâ intercidisse[76]. Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Jovis ædes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit. Publicola ad Vejentium bellum profectus. Ægriùs quàm dignum erat tulêre Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam inclyti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra tentata erant, postem jam tenenti[77] consuli fœdum inter precationem deûm nuncium incutiunt, "mortuum ejus filium esse, funestâque[78] "familiâ dedicare eum templum non posse." Non crediderit[79] factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum, nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuncium à proposito aversus, quàm ut[80] cadaver efferri juberet, tenens postem, precationem peragit, et dedicat templum. Hæc post exactos reges domi militiæque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum, T. Lucretius consules facti.

IX. Jam Tarquinii ad Lartem[81] Porsenam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi, miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant, "ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem "sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur;" nunc monebant etiam, "ne orientem morem pellendi "reges inultum sineret. Satìs libertatem ipsam habere "dulcedinis. Nisi, quantâ vi civitates eam expetant, "tantâ regna reges defendant, æquari summa infimis; "nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore. "Adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pul-"cherrimæ." Porsena, tum regem esse Romæ, tum Etruscæ gentis regem, amplum[82] Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam aliàs antè tantus

terror senatum invasit. Adeò valida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsenæ nomen. Nec hostes modò timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs, metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet[83]. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonæ imprimis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi, alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi[84] arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omne sumptum, ademptum privatis. Portoriisque[85] et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satìs stipendii pendere, si liberos educarent. Itaque hæc indulgentia Patrum, asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame, adeò concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis, quàm infimi, horrerent; nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quàm tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

X. Quum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant: urbem ipsam sepiunt præsidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi objecto, videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter penè hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles, (id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanæ habuit,) qui, positus fortè in statione pontis, quum captum repentino impetu Janiculum, atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens, obtestansque deûm et hominum fidem, testabatur, "nequicquam deserto præsidio[86] eos fugere. "Si transitum pontem[87] à tergo reliquissent, jam plus "hostium in Palatio Capitolioque, quàm in Janiculo, fore. "Itaque monere, prædicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quà-"cunque vi possent, interrumpant. Se impetum hos-"tium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum." Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque[88] inter conspecta cedentium pugnæ terga, obversis cominus ad ineundum prœlium armis, ipso miraculo audaciæ obstupefecit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam, et quod tumultuosissimum pugnæ[89] erat parumper sustinuit. Deinde eos quoque

ipsos, exiguâ parte pontis relictâ, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coëgit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum, nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, "Servitia[90] "regum superborum, suæ libertatis immemores, alienam "oppugnatum venire." Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut prœlium incipiat, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et, clamore sublato, undique in unum hostem tela conjiciunt. Quæ quum in objecto cuncta scuto hæsissent, neque ille minùs obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu,[91] jam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, quum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito[92] impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles, "Tibe-"rine[93] pater," inquit, "te, sancte, precor, hæc arma et "hunc militem propitio flumine accipias." Ita sic armatus[94] in Tiberim desiluit; multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad posteros, quàm fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit; statua in comitio[95] posita; agri quantum uno die circumaravit[96] datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant; nam in magnâ inopiâ, pro domesticis copiis, unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit.

XI. Porsena, primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnandâ urbe ab obsidendam[97] versis, præsidio in Janiculo locato, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit; navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut prædatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis trajiceret; brevique adeò infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit,[98] ut non cetera solùm ex agris, sed pecus quoque omne, in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiæ Etruscis, non metu magis, quam consilio, concessum; namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improvisò adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad majora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut eliceret prædatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes portâ Esquilinâ, quæ aversissima ab hoste[99] erat, expellerent pecus; scituros id hostes ratus, quòd in obsidione[1]

et fame servitia infida transfugerent. Et scière perfugæ indicio; multóque plures, ut in spem universæ prædæ, flumen trajiciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabinâ viâ[2] occultum considere jubet: Sp. Lartium cum expeditâ juventute ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis prætereat; deinde se objicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius portâ Næviâ[3] cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Cœlio monte cohortes delectas educit[4]; hique primi apparuêre hosti. Herminius, ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit[5] ex insidiis, versisque in Valerium Etruscis terga cædit; dextrâ lævâque, hinc à portâ Collinâ, illinc ab Næviâ, redditus clamor. Ita cæsi in medio prædatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares, et ad fugam septis omnibus viis; finisque ille tam effusè evagandi Etruscis fuit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilominus, et frumenti cum summâ caritate inopia; sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsena habebat; quum C. Mucius, adolescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur, populum Romanum servientem, quum sub regibus esset[6], nullo bello, nec ab hostibus ullis, obsessum esse: liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum sæpe exercitus fuderit; itaque[7], magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primò suâ sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit. Dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, fortè deprehensus à custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortunâ tum urbis crimen affirmante[8], senatum adiit: — "Transire "Tiberim," inquit, "Patres, et intrare, si possim, castra "hostium volo, non prædo, nec populationum in vicem "ultor; majus, si Dii juvant, in animo est facinus." Approbant Patres. Abdito intra vestem ferro, proficiscitur. Ubi eò venit, in confertissimâ turbâ prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi quum stipendium fortè militibus daretur, et scriba, cum rege sedens pari ferè ornatu, multa ageret, eum milites vulgò adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsena esset, ne ignorando regem[9] semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quò temerè traxit fortuna facinus[10], scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, quà per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, quum, con-

cursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus[11], tum quoque, inter tantas fortunæ minas, metuendus magìs, quàm metuens, "Romanus sum," inquit, "civis. C. Mucium "vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui; nec ad mortem "minus animi est, quàm fuit ad cædem. Et facere et pati "fortia[12], Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos ani-"mos gessi: longus post me ordo est idem petentium "decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere, "ut in singulas horas capite dimices[13] tuo: ferrum hos-"temque in vestibulo habeas regiæ. Hoc tibi juventus "Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum "prælium, timueris. Uni tibi, et cum singulis, res erit[14]," Quum rex, simul irâ incensus, periculoque conterritus, circumdari ignes[15] minitabundus juberet, nisi expromeret properè, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret, "En tibi," inquit, "ut sentias, quàm vile corpus sit iis, "qui magnam gloriam vident[16]:" dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam quum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, propè attonitus[17] miraculo rex, quum ab sede suâ prosiluisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset, "Tu verò abi," inquit, "in te magìs, "quàm in me, hostilia ausus. Juberem macte virtute "esse[18], si pro meâ patriâ ista virtus staret. Nunc "jure belli liberum[19] te, intactum inviolatumque, hinc "dimitto." Tum Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum, "Quandoquidem," inquit, "est apud te virtuti honos, "ut beneficio tuleris à me, quod minis nequisti, tre-"centi conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanæ, ut "in te hâc viâ grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit. "Ceteri, ut cuique ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum "fortuna dederit[20], suo quisque tempore, aderunt."

XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scævolæ[21] à clade dextræ manûs cognomen inditum, legati à Porsenâ Romam secuti sunt. Adeò moverat eum et primi periculi casus, quo nihil se præter errorem insidiatoris texisset[22], et subeunda dimicatio toties, quot conjurati superessent, ut pacis conditiones ultro ferret Romanis. Jactatum in conditionibus nequicquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magìs quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quàm quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis

ignoraret. De agro Vejentibus restituendo[23] impetratum; expressaque necessitas[24] obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo præsidium deduci vellent. His conditionibus compositâ pace, exercitum ab Janiculo deduxit Porsena, et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causâ trans Tiberim agrum dono dedêre, quæ postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo, ita honoratâ virtute, feminæ quoque ad publica decora excitæ. Et Clœlia virgo, una ex obsidibus, quum castra Etruscorum fortè haud procul ripâ Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nunciatum est, primò incensus irâ oratores Romam misit ad Clœliam obsidem deposcendam; alias haud magni facere[25]. Deinde in admirationem versus, "supra Coclites Muciosque" dicere "id facinus "esse," et præ se ferre[26], quemadmodum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto se fœdus habiturum; sic, deditam, inviolatam ad suos remissurum." Utrinque constitit fides; et Romani pignus pacis ex fœdere restituerunt; et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solùm, sed honorata etiam, virtus fuit; laudatamque virginem parte obsidum[27] se donare dixit; ipsa, quos vellet, legeret. Productis omnibus, elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum[28], et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat, eam ætatem potissimùm liberari ab hoste, quæ maximè opportuna injuriæ esset. Pace redintegratâ, Romani novam in feminâ virtutem novo genere honoris, statuâ equestri, donavêre. In summâ Sacrâ viâ fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

XIV. Huic tam pacatæ profectioni[29] ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram ætatem inter cetera sollennia manet bonis vendendis, bona Porsenæ regis vendendi. Cujus originem moris, necesse est, aut inter bellum natam esse, neque omissam in pace, aut à mitiore crevisse principio, quàm hic præ se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero[30] est ex iis quæ traduntur, Porsenam, discedentem ab Janiculo, castra opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriæ arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinquâ obsidione; ea

deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse[31]; bonaque Porsenæ appellata, gratiam muneris magìs significante titulo, quàm auctionem fortunæ regiæ, quæ ne in potestatem[32] quidem populi Romani esset. Omisso Romano bello, Porsena, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium Aruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primò Aricinos res necopinata perculerat. Arcessita deinde auxilia, et à Latinis populis, et à Cumis, tantum spei fecêre, ut acie decernere auderent. Prælio inito, adeò concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanæ cohortes, arte adversùs vim usæ, declinavere[33] paullulum, effuséque prælatos hostes[34], conversis signis, ab tergo adortæ sunt. Ita in medio propè jam victores cæsi Etrusci. Pars perexigua, duce omisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortunâ et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benignò excepti divisique in hospitia. Curatis vulneribus, alii profecti domos, nuncii hospitalium beneficiorum; multos Romæ hospitum urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde "Tuscum vicum," appellârunt.

XV. P. Lucretius[35] inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti. Eo anno postremùm legati à Porsenâ de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus quum responsum esset, missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quisque ex Patribus. "Non, quin[36] breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non "recipi reges, ideo potiùs delectos Patrum ad eum mis- "sos, quàm legatis ejus Romæ daretur responsum; sed "ut in perpetuum mentio ejus rei finiretur, neu in tantis "mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur; quum "ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani "esset; Romani, nisi[37] in perniciem suam faciles esse "vellent, negarent, cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in "regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate, esse[38]. "Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potiùs, quàm regi- "bus, portas patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, "ut qui libertati erit in illâ urbe finis, idem urbi sit. "Proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur li- "beram esse, orare." Rex verecundiâ victus, "Quando "id certum atque obstinatum est," inquit, "neque ego

"obtundam sæpius eadem nequicquam agendo, nec "Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frus- "trabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est, seu quiete, "exsilio quærant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem "distineat." Dictis facta amiciora adjecit. Obsidum, quod reliquum erat, reddidit. Agrum Vejentem, fœdere ad Janiculum icto ademptum, restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reditûs incisâ, exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsenâ fuit.

XVI. Consules M. Valerius, P. Postumius. Eo anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis. Consules triumphârunt. Majore indè mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversùs eos[39], ne quid simul ab Tusculo (unde, etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat,) repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartùm, T. Lucretius iterum, consules facti. Seditio, inter belli pacisque auctores[40] orta in Sabinis, aliquantum indè virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attus Clausus, cui postea Ap. Claudio fuit Romæ nomen, cùm pacis ipse auctor à turbatoribus belli[41] premeretur, nec par factioni[42] esset, ab Regillo, magnâ clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem. Vetus Claudia tribus[43], additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius, inter Patres lectus, haud ita multò post in principum dignationem[44] pervenit. Consules, infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti, quum ita vastatione, dein prælio, afflixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil indè rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post, Agrippâ Menenio, P. Postumio consulibus, moritur, gloriâ ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeò exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset. De publico est elatus. Luxêre matronæ, ut Brutum. Eodem anno duæ coloniæ[45] Latinæ, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est[46]. Nec magis post prælium, quàm in prælio, cædibus temperatum est; et cæsi aliquanto plures

erant, quàm capti; et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, iram belli[47] hostis abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romæ triumphatum.

XVII. Secuti consules, Opiter Virginius et Sp. Cassius, Pometiam primò vi, deinde vineis[48] aliisque operibus, oppugnaverunt. In quos Aurunci, magìs jam inexpiabili odio, quàm spe aliquâ aut occasione, coorti, quum plures igni quàm ferro armati excucurrissent, cæde incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum, (sed utrum, nomen auctores non adjiciunt) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum, propè interfecerunt. Romam indè, malè gestâ re, reditum[49]. Inter multos saucios consul spe incertâ vitæ relictus[50]. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitu satìs esset, tum irâ majore belli, tum viribus etiam auctis, Pometiæ[51] arma illata; et, quum, vineis refectis aliâque mole belli, jam in eo esset, ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterùm nihilo minùs fœdè, deditâ urbe, quàm si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi; sub coronâ venierunt coloni alii[52]; oppidum dirutum[53]; ager veniit. Consules, magìs ob iras graviter ultas, quàm ob magnitudinem perfecti belli, triumphârunt.

XVIII. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romæ, quum per ludos ab Sabinorum juventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope prælium fuit; parvâque ex re ad rebellionem[54] spectare res videbatur. Supra belli[55] Latini metum id quoque accesserat, quòd triginta jam conjurâsse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio[56], satìs constabat. In hâc tantarum expectatione rerum sollicitâ civitate, dictatoris primùm creandi mentio orta; sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniâ essent, (id quoque enim traditur) parum creditum sit[57], nec quis primùm dictator creatus sit, satìs constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum, creatos invenio. Consulares legere[58]; ita lex jubebat[59], de dictatore creando lata. Eò magìs adducor,

ut credam Lartium, qui consularis[60] erat, potiùs quàm Manium Valerium, M. filium, Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum ; qui[61], si maximè ex eâ familiâ legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multo potiùs M. Valerium, spectatæ virtutis et consularem virum, legissent. Creato dictatore primùm Romæ, postquam præferri[62] secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum ; neque enim, ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium[63], neque provocatio[64] erat ; neque ullum usquam, nisi in curâ parendi, auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romæ dictator (eò magìs, quòd propter se creatum crediderant) metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt, quibus, orantibus dictatorem senatumque, ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus[65] darent, responsum, "ignosci adolescentibus "posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent." Actum tamen est de pace ; impetrataque foret, si, quod impensæ factum in bellum erat[66], præstare Sabini (id enim postulatum erat) in animum induxissent. Bellum indictum. Tacitæ[67] induciæ quietum annum tenuêre.

XIX. Consules Ser. Sulpicius, Manius Tullius. Nihil dignum memoriâ actum. T. Æbutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenæ obsessæ, Crustumeria capta, Præneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit ; nec ultrà bellum Latinum, gliscens[68] jam per aliquot annos, dilatum. A. Postumius[69] dictator, T. Æbutius magister equitum, magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt ; et, quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit, quin extemplo confligerent. Ergo etiam prælium aliquanto, quàm cetera, gravius atque atrocius fuit ; non enim duces ad regendam modò consilio rem affuêre, sed, suismet ipsis corporibus dimicantes, miscuêre certamina ; nec quisquam procerum fermè aut hâc aut illâ ex acie sine vulnere, præter dictatorem Romanum, excessit. In Postumium, primâ in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque, Tarquinius Superbus, quanquam jam ætate et viribus erat gravior[70], equum infestus admisit[71] ; ictusque ab latere, concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu

Æbutium magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat; nec fefellit[72] veniens Tusculanum ducem, contra quem[73] et ille concitat equum; tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Æbutio trajectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepêre; Æbutius, quum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugnâ excessit. Latinus dux, nihil deterritus vulnere, prælium ciet; et, quia suos perculsos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquinii filius præerat. Ea, quòd majore pugnabat irâ ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

XX. Referentibus jam pedem ab eâ parte Romanis, M. Valerius, Publicolæ frater, conspicatus ferocem juvenem Tarquinium, ostentantem se in primâ exsulum acie, domesticâ etiam gloriâ accensus, ut, cujus familiæ[74] decus ejecti reges erant, ejusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti[75]. Valerium, temere invectum in exsulum aciem, ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quidquam equitis vulnere equo retardato[76], moribundus Romanus, labentibus super corpus armis, ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius, postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehi, suos perculsos cedere animadvertit, cohorti suæ, quam delectam manum præsidii causâ circa se habebat, dat signum[77], ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti[78] versi à fugâ Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primùm prælium iniit; integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exsules[79] cædunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum à dictatore Romano propè circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi majore[80], quàm paullò ante magister equitum, cum hostium duce prælium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, quum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem

exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans, ut, fesso jam pedite, descendant ex equis, et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruêre; desiliunt ex equis; provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis[81] parmas objiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam juventutis proceres, æquato genere pugnæ[82], secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi[83], ut persequi hostem posset. Secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi, nihil nec divinæ nec humanæ opis Dictator prætermittens, ædem Castori vovisse fertur, ac pronunciâsse militi præmia, qui primus, qui secundus, castra hostium intrâsset; tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu[84], quo fuderant hostem, Romani castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediêre.

XXI. Triennio[85] deinde nec certa pax, nec bellum fuit. Consules Q. Clœlius et T. Lartius. Inde A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His consulibus ædes Saturno dedicata[86]: Saturnalia[87] institutus festus dies. A. deinde Postumius et T. Virginius consules facti. Hoc demum anno[88] ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiæ fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse[89]; dictatorem inde factum. Tanti errores implicant[90] temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut, nec qui consules secundùm quosdam[91], nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tantâ vetustate, non rerum modò, sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis. Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus est Cumis, quò se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuncio erecti Patres, erecta plebes. Sed Patribus nimis luxuriosa[92] ea fuit lætitia. Plebi, cui ad eam diem summâ ope inservitum erat, injuriæ à primoribus fieri cœpêre. Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Romæ tribus[93] una et viginti factæ. Ædes Mercurii[94] dedicata est idibus Maiis.

XXII. Cum Volscorum gente, Latino bello, neque pax neque bellum fuerat. Nam et Volsci comparaverant

auxilia, quæ mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset; et maturavit Romanus, ne prælio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hâc irâ consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxêre. Volscos, consilii pœnam[95] non metuentes, necopinata res perculit. Armorum immemores[96], obsides dant trecentos principum à Corâ atque Pometiâ liberos. Ita sine certamine inde abductæ legiones. Nec ita multò pòst Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium. Rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis in societatem armorum assumptis. Legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos, irâ odioque ejus quicunque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit[97]. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxêre. Ibi traditi consulibus; indicatumque est, Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Relatâ re ad senatum, adeò fuit gratum patribus, ut et captivorum sex millia Latinis remitterent, et de fœdere, quod propè in perpetuum negatum[98] fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus rejicerent. Enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto[99]; pacis auctores in ingenti gloriâ esse. Coronam auream Jovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum[1] remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt domos eorum, apud quem quisque servierant; gratias agunt, liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate suâ; inde hospitia jungunt. Nunquam aliàs antè publicè privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio conjunctius fuit.

XXIII. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas, secum ipsa discors, intestino inter Patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maximè propter nexos[2] ob æs alienum. Fremebant, "se, foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi à civibus captos et oppressos esse; tutioremque in bello, quàm in pace, inter hostes, quàm inter cives, libertatem plebis esse." Invidiamque eam, suâ sponte gliscentem, insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum projecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, fœdior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc, promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tantâ deformitate, et ordines[3]

duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiæ decora vulgò, miserantes eum, jactabant. Ipse, testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum, cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus "unde ille habitus? unde deformitas?" quum circumfusa turba esset propè in concionis[4] modum, "Sabino bello," ait, "se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modò caruerit, sed villa "incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum "iniquo suo tempore[5] imperatum, æs alienum fecisse: "id, cumulatum usuris, primò se agro paterno avitoque "exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis: postremò, velut tabem[6], "pervenisse ad corpus. Ductum se ab creditore, non in "servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam, esse." Inde ostentare tergum, fœdum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad hæc visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non jam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexu vincti[7] solutique se undique in publicum proripiunt; implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius[8] comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui fortè Patrum in foro erant, in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. In eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Hæc se meritos dicere, exprobantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam. Postulare multò minaciter magìs, quàm suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi, futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii, circumsistunt. Pauci admodum Patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ad consules; ceteros metus non curiâ modò, sed etiam foro, arcebat; nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam[9] poterat senatûs. Tum verò eludi atque extrahi[10] se multitudo putare; et Patrum qui[11] abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendæ rei causâ, abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari; nec dubiè ludibrio esse miserias suas. Jam prope erat, ut ne consulum quidem majestas coërceret iras hominum; quum, incerti, morando, an veniendo, plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curiâ, non modò[12] inter Patres, sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos, satìs conveniebat.

Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat; uno aut altero arrepto, quieturos alios. Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti, quàm frangi, putabat quum tutius, tum facilius, esse.

XXIV. Inter hæc major alius terror. Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuncio: "Volscos infesto "exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire." Quæ audita (adeò duas ex unâ civitate discordia fecerat) longè aliter Patres ac plebem affecêre. Exsultare gaudio plebes; "ultores superbiæ Patrum adesse" dicere "deos." Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent[13]: "cum omnibus "potiùs, quàm solos, perituros. Patres militarent, "Patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, "penes quos præmia essent." At verò curia, mœsta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magìs populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rempublicam. Tum consul, misso senatu, in concionem prodit. Ibi "curæ esse Patribus," ostendit, "ut consu- "latur plebi; ceterùm deliberationi de maximâ quidem "illâ, sed tamen parte[14] civitatis, metum pro universâ "republicâ intervenisse; nec posse, quum hostes prope "ad portas essent, bello prævertisse quidquam[15]: nec, "si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi "mercede priùs acceptâ, arma pro patriâ non cepisse; "neque Patribus satis decorum, per metum potiùs, quàm "postmodo voluntate, afflictis civium suorum fortunis "consuluisse." Concioni deinde edicto addidit fidem[16], quo edixit, "Ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut "clausum teneret, quo minùs ei nominis edendi apud "consules potestas fieret. Ne quis militis, donec in cas- "tris esset, bona possideret, aut venderet: liberos nepo- "tesve ejus moraretur[17]." Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex totâ urbe proripientium se ex privato, quum retinendi jus creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent[18], fieri. Magna ea manus fuit; neque aliorum magìs in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

XXV. Proximâ inde nocte Volsci, discordiâ Romanâ freti, si qua nocturna transitio[19] proditiove fieri possit, tentant castra. Sensêre vigiles; excitatus exercitus; signo dato concursum est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrinque quieti datum. Postero die primâ luce Volsci, fossis repletis, vallum invadunt. Jamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur[20], quum consul, quanquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret, clamabant, experiendi animos militum causâ parumper moratus, postquam satìs apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo, militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga cæsa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra, legionibus circumdatis[21], quum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quò confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur; captum prædæ datum; indè paullum recreatus[22] egens miles. Consul cum maximâ gloriâ suâ victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatûsconsulto data pax, ager ademptus.

XXVI. Confestim[23] et Sabini Romanos territavêre: tumultus enim fuit veriùs, quàm bellum[24]. Nocte in urbe nunciatum est, exercitum Sabinum prædabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eò cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat. Secutus consul Servilius cum delectâ peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit. Nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio. Fessi, tum itinere, tum populatione nocturnâ, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugæ[25] quod satìs esset virium habuêre. Nocte unâ audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die, in magnâ jam spe undique partæ pacis, legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat; cujus fama, haud procul jam ab Ariciâ visi, tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli

ordine Patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul indè cum Auruncis signa collata, prælioque uno debellatum est[26].

XXVII. Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatûs exspectabat; quum Appius, et insitâ superbiâ animo, et ut collegæ vanam faceret fidem, quàm asperrimè poterat, jus de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et, qui antè nexi fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat[27]; concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa jactabant; illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum, aut, ut auxilio[28] esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem hæc; sed tergiversari res cogebat; adeò in alteram causam non collega solùm præceps ierat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita, medium se gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum[29] rati; plebes fallacem; brevique apparuit, æquâsse[30] eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii ædem. Senatus à se rem ad populum rejecit. Utri eorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum præesse annonæ, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollennia[31] pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem ædis dat M. Lætorio, primi pili centurioni[32]; quod facilè appareret non tam ad honorem ejus, cui curatio altior fastigio[33] suo data esset, factum, quàm ad consulum ignominiam. Sævire indè utique consulum alter[34] Patresque; sed plebi creverant animi; et longè aliâ, quàm primò instituerant, viâ grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatûsque auxilio, quum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis præ strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, quum decrêsset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis[35] et periculum libertatis, quum in conspectu consulis singuli à pluribus violarentur, in creditores à debitoribus verterant. Super hæc timor incessit Sabini belli; delectuque decreto, nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio, et insectante ambitionem col-

legæ, qui populari silentio rempublicam proderet, et ad id[36], quòd de creditâ pecuniâ jus non dixisset, adjiceret, ut ne delectum quidem ex senatûsconsulto haberet. "Non esse tamen desertam omnino rempublicam, "neque projectum consulare imperium. Se unum et suæ "et Patrum majestatis vindicem fore." Quum circumstaret quotidiana multitudo[37] licentiâ accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille, quum à lictoribus jam traheretur, provocavit; nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi ægrè victa pertinacia foret consilio magìs et auctoritate principum, quàm populi clamore; adeò supererant animi[38] ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere indè malum in dies, non clamoribus modò apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius Patribus mirè gratus.

XXVIII. A. Virginius indè et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. Tum verò plebes, incerta quales habitura consules esset, cœtus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro[39] subitis trepidaret consiliis, et omnia temerè ac fortuitò ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam, ad patres deferunt; sed delatam[40] consulere ordine non licuit, adeò tumultuosè excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione Patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum[41] esset, invidiam ejus consules ad senatum rejicerent. "Profectò si essent in republicâ magistratus, "nullum futurum fuisse Romæ, "nisi publicum, concilium. Nunc in mille curias con- "cionesque (quum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino, fiant "concilia) dispersam et dissipatam esse rempublicam. "Unum, Hercule, virum (id enim[42] plus esse, quàm con- "sulem) qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis "discussurum illos cœtus fuisse." Correpti consules quum, quid ergo se facere vellent, (nihil enim segniùs molliúsve, quàm Patribus placeat, acturos) percunctarentur, decernunt[43], ut delectum quàm acerrimum habeant; otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu, consules in tribunal ascendunt; citant nominatim juniores. Quum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in concionis modum negare, "Ultrà decipi plebem posse.

"Nunquam unum militem habituros, ni præstaretur "fides publica[44]. Libertatem unicuique priùs reddendam "esse, quàm arma danda, ut pro patriâ civibusque, non "pro dominis, pugnent." Consules, quid mandatum esset à senatu, videbant, sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiæ ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse, invidiæ suæ participem; et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Priùs itaque, quàm ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum verò ad sellas consulum propè convolavêre[45] minimus quique natu Patrum, abdicare consulatum jubentes, deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

XXIX. Utrâque re[46] satìs expertâ, tum demum consules: "Ne prædictum negetis, Patres conscripti, adest "ingens seditio. Postulamus, ut ii, qui maximè ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus delectum. "Acerrimi cujusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem "agemus." Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, deditâ operâ[47] jubent. Quum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne fortè violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum verò, "indignum facinus esse," clamitantes, qui Patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quàm prehendere prohibito[48], quum conversus in Patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est; in quâ tamen, sine lapide, sine telo, plus clamoris atque irarum, quàm injuriæ, fuerat. Senatus, tumultuosè vocatus, tumultuosiùs consulitur, quæstionem[49] postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente[50] ferocissimo quoque, non sententiis magìs, quàm clamore et strepitu. Tandem, quum iræ resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curiâ, quàm in foro, esse, ordine consuli cœpit. Tres fuêre sententiæ. P. Virginius rem non vulgabat[51]; "de iis "tantùm, qui, fidem secuti P. Servilii consulis, Volsco, "Aurunco, Sabinoque militâssent bello, agendum" censebat. T. Lartius, "Non id tempus esse, ut merita "tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem ære alieno "demersam esse; nec sisti[52] posse, ni omnibus consu"latur; quin[53], si alia aliorum sit conditio, accendi

"magìs discordiam, quàm sedari." Ap. Claudius, et naturâ immitis, et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc Patrum laudibus, "Non miseriis," ait, "sed licentiâ, tantum "concitum turbarum; et lascivire magìs plebem, quàm "sævire. Id adeò malum ex provocatione natum; quippe "minas esse consulum, non imperium[54], ubi ad eos, qui "unà peccaverint, provocare liceat. Agedum," inquit, "dictatorem, à quo provocatio non est, creemus. Jam "hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticescet[55] furor. Pul-"set tum mihi lictorem[56], qui sciet jus de tergo "vitâque suâ penès unum illum esse, cujus majestatem violârit."

XXX. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appii sententia; rursus Virginii Lartiique exemplo[57] haud salubres; utique Lartii putabant sententiam, quæ totam fidem[58] tolleret; medium maximè et moderatum utroque [59] consilium Virginii habebatur. Sed factione[60] respectuque rerum privatarum, quæ semper offecêre officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit; ac propè fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quæ res utique alienâsset plebem periculosissimo tempore, quum Volsci Æquique et Sabini fortè unà omnes in armis essent. Sed curæ fuit consulibus et senioribus Patrum, ut imperium, suo vehemens[61], mansueto permitteretur ingenio. Manium Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. Plebes, etsi adversùs se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, quum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex eâ familiâ triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde, à dictatore propositum, confirmavit animos, Servilii ferè consulis edicto conveniens. Sed et homini[62] et potestati melius rati credi, omisso certamine, nomina dedêre. Quantus[63] nunquam antè exercitus, legiones decem effectæ; ternæ indè datæ consulibus; quatuor dictator usus. Nec poterat jam bellum differri. Æqui Latinum agrum invaserant; oratores[64] Latinorum à senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causâ capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos, quàm pati retractare arma[65]. Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit. Cessêre Æqui campis; locoque magìs, quàm armis, freti, summis se jugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul, in

Volscos profectus, ne et ipse[66] tereret tempus, vastandis maximè agris hostem ad conferenda propiùs castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo[67], ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis constitêre. Multitudine aliquantùm Volsci superabant. Itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam inière. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus; defixis pilis stare suos jussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos[68] totâ vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci, cursu et clamore fessi, quum se velut stupentibus[69] metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem[70] sensêre ex adverso factam, et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secùs, quàm si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satìs virium fuit, quia cursu in prælium ierant. Romani contrà, quia principio pugnæ quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facilè adepti fessos[71], et castra impetu ceperunt, et, castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti, uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupêre; plusque ibi sanguinis, promiscuâ omnium generum cæde, quàm in ipsâ dimicatione, factum[72]. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

XXXI. Dum hæc in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longè plurimum belli fuerat, fundit[73] fugatque, exuitque castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, quâ, dum se cornua latiùs pandunt[74], parum aptè introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant. Turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta, debellatumque est[75]. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe missi, et colonia deducta[76]. Cum Æquis pòst aliquanto[77] pugnatum est, invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites, extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut antè consulis, promissa ejus caderent, perpulêre, ut fortè temere[78] in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id, malè commissum, ignaviâ hostium in bonum vertit; qui, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniretur

obstupefacti audaciâ Romanorum, relictis castris, quæ munitissimis tenuerant locis, in adversas valles[79] desiluêre; ubi satìs prædæ[80] et victoria incruenta fuit. Ita trifariam re bello benè gestâ, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec Patribus nec plebi cura decesserat, tantâ quum gratiâ, tum arte præparaverant fœneratores, quæ non modò plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem, frustrarentur[81]. Namque Valerius, post Vetusii consulis reditum, omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit[82] pro victore populo, retulitque quid nexis fieri placeret; quæ quum rejecta relatio esset, "Non placeo," inquit, "concordiæ auctor; optabitis, me Dius fidius[83], propediem, ut mei similes[84] Romana plebes patronos habeat. "Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultrà cives meos, "neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiæ intestinæ, "bellum externum, fecêre, ut hoc magistratu egeret "respublica. Pax forìs parta est, domi impeditur. "Privatus potiùs, quàm dictator, seditioni interero[85]." Ita, curiâ egressus, dictaturâ se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi[86] suam vicem indignantem magistratu abîsse. Itaque, velut persolutâ fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin præstaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

XXXII. Timor inde Patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus cœtus occulti conjurationesque fierent. Itaque, quanquam per dictatorem delectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba jurâssent[87], sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam[88] renovati ab Æquis belli, educi ex urbe legiones jussêre; quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primò agitatum dicitur de consulum cæde, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi[89], Sicinio quodam auctore, injussu consulum in Sacrum montem[90] secessisse (trans Anienem amnem est,) ab urbe tria millia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est, quàm cujus Piso auctor est, in Aventinum[91] secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce, vallo fossâque communitis castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies, neque lacessiti neque lacessentes, sese tenuêre. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes[92] violentiam Patrum; timere Patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti

manere eam an abire mallent; quamdiu autem tranquillam, quæ secesserit, multitudinem fore; quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat; nullam profectò, nisi in concordiâ civium, spem reliquam ducere; eam per æqua, per iniqua[94], reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam[95], facundum virum, et, quòd inde oriundus[96] erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido[97] modo, nihil aliud, quàm hoc, narrâsse fertur: "Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia "in unum consentiebant[98], sed singulis membris suum "cuique consilium, suus sermo, fuerat, indignatas reliquas "partes, suâ curâ, suo labore ac ministerio, ventri omnia "quæri; ventrem, in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quàm "datis voluptatibus frui; conspirâsse indè, ne manus ad "os cibum ferret, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes "conficerent. Hâc irâ, dum ventrem[99] fame domare "vellent, ipsa unà membra totumque corpus ad extremam "tabem venisse. Indè apparuisse ventris quoque haud "segne ministerium esse: nec magìs ali, quàm alere, eum[1] "reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus "vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum, con"fecto cibo, sanguinem." Comparando hinc quàm intestina corporis seditio similis[2] esset iræ plebis in Patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordiâ cœptum, concessumque in conditiones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversùs consules esset; neve cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei[3] creati duo C. Licinius et T. Albinus; hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt[4]; in his Sicinium fuisse, seditionis auctorem. De duobus qui fuerint, minùs convenit. Sunt, qui duos tantùm in Sacro monte creatos[5] tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem[6] latam. Per secessionem[7] plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumius Cominius[8] consulatum inierunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum fœdus; ad id feriendum consul alter Romæ mansit; alter, ad Volscum bellum missus, Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus mœnibus potitur. Inde Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit[9]: tum magnâ vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores juvenum C. Marcius, adolescens et con-

silio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Quum subitò exercitum Romanum, Coriolos obsidentem, atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum, sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli, Volscæ legiones, profectæ ab Antio, invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, fortè in statione Marcius fuit. Is, cum delectâ militum manu, non modò impetum erumpentium retudit, sed per patentem portam ferox irrupit; cædeque in proxima urbis factâ[10], ignem, temere arreptum, imminentibus muro ædificiis injecit. Clamor indè oppidanorum, mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primo ortu[11], et Romanis auxit animum, et turbavit Volscos, utpote captâ urbe, cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates; Corioli oppidum captum; tantumque suâ laude obstitit[12] famæ consulis Marcius, ut, nisi fœdus cum Latinis, columnâ æneâ insculptum, monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega abfuerat, ictum[13], Postumium Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoriâ cessisset. Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni vita pariter Patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti[14] arbitroque concordiæ civium, legato Patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanæ in urbem, sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs, sextantibus in capita collatis[15].

XXXIV. Consules deinde T. Geganius, P. Minucius facti. Eo anno, quum et foris quieta omnia à bello essent, et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primùm annonæ, ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis[16] solet; ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coëmendum, non in Etruriam modò dextris ab Ostiâ litoribus, lævoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quæsitum in Siciliam quoque[17], adeò finitimorum odia longinquis coëgerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis quum coëmptum[18] esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui hæres erat, retentæ sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque[19] ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit;

eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam arctis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos, jam moventes arma, pestilentia ingens invasisset. Eâ clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam, ubi ea remisisset[20], terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris[21] auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbæ[22] in montes novam coloniam, quæ arx[23] in Pomptino esset, miserunt. M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio[24] consulibus, magna vis frumenti ex Siciliâ advecta; agitatumque in senatu, quanti plebi daretur[25]. Multi venisse tempus premendæ plebis putabant, recuperandique jura, quæ extorta secessione ac vi Patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciæ potestatis, "Si annonam," inquit, "veterem "volunt, jus pristinum reddant Patribus. Cur ego ple-"beios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem, video, sub "jugum missus[26], tanquam à latronibus redemptus? "Egone has indignitates diutiùs patiar quàm necesse "est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim[27], Sicinium "feram? secedat nunc, avocet plebem; patet via in "Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex "agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno[28] rapuêre. "Utantur annonâ[29], quam furore suo fecêre. Audeo "dicere, hoc malo domitos, ipsos potiùs cultores agrorum "fore, quàm ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant." Haud tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit[30], quàm potuisse arbitror fieri, ut, conditionibus laxandi annonam, et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis jura imposita Patres demerent sibi.

XXXV. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira propè armavit. "Fame se jam, sicut hostes, "peti[31]; cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumen-"tum, quæ sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, "ab ore rapi, nisi C. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, "nisi de tergo plebis Romanæ satisfiat[32]. Eum sibi car-"nificem[33] novum exortum, qui aut mori, aut servire, "jubeat." In exeuntem è curiâ impetus factus esset, ni peropportunè tribuni diem dixissent[34]. Ibi[35] ira est suppressa; se judicem quisque, se dominum vitæ necisque inimici, factum videbat. Contemptim primò Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: "auxilii[36], non pœnæ, jus "datum illi potestati; plebisque[37], non Patrum, tribunos

"esse." Sed adeò infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius pœnâ defungendum esset[38] Patribus. Restiterunt tamen[39] adversâ invidiâ, usique sunt, quà suis quisque, quà[40] totius ordinis, viribus. Ac primò tentata res est, si, dispositis clientibus, absterrendo singulos à coïtionibus conciliisque, disjicere rem[41] possent. Universi deinde processêre, (quidquid erat Patrum, reos diceres[42]) precibus plebem exposcentes, "unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent[43]." Ipse quum die dictâ non adesset, perseveratum in irâ est. Damnatus absens[44] in Volscos exsulatum abiit, minitans patriæ, hostilesque jam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benignè excepêre; benigniúsque in dies colebant, quo major ira in suos eminebat, crebræque nunc querelæ, nunc minæ, percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tulli[45]. Longè is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita, quum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens, stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facilè credebant plebem suam impelli posse ut, toties infeliciter tentata, arma caperent; multis sæpe bellis, pestilentiâ postremò amissâ juventute, fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto jam vetustate odio[46], ut recenti aliquâ irâ exacerbarentur animi.

XXXVI. Ludi[47] fortè, ex instauratione, magni Romæ parabantur. Instaurandi hæc causa fuerat. Ludis[48] manè servum quidam pater familiæ, nondum commisso spectaculo[49], sub furcâ[50] cæsum, medio egerat circo. Cœpti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo pòst T. Atinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Jupiter dicere, "Sibi "ludis præsultatorem displicuisse[51]; nisi magnificè in- "staurarentur hi ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea "consulibus nunciaret." Quanquam haud sanè liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen majestatis magistratuum timorem vicit[52], ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit[53]; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit; cujus repentinæ cladis ne causa dubia esset, ægro animi[54] eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, "Satin' magnam "spreti numinis haberet mercedem? majorem instare,

"ni eat properè, ac nunciet consulibus." Jam præsentior res erat[55]. Cunctantem[56] tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subitâ. Tum enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis præteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito, quum visa atque audita, et obversatum toties somno Jovem, minas irasque cœlestes repræsentatas[57] casibus suis, exposuisset, consensu indè haud dubio omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad consules lecticâ adfertur. Indè in curiam jussu consulum delatus, eadem illa quum Patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrâsset, ecce aliud miraculum. Qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum, functum officio, pedibus suis domum rediisse, traditum memoriæ est.

XXXVII. Ludi quàm amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos, auctore Attio Tullo, vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullus, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse, quæ secretò agere de republicâ velit. Arbitris remotis, "Invitus," inquit, "quod "sequius[58] sit, de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen "admissum quidquam ab iis criminatum[59] venio; sed "cautum, ne admittant. Nimio plùs, quàm velim, "nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus "sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito, sed vestrâ "patientiâ, incolumes simus. Magna hìc nunc Vol-"scorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta "civitas erat. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab "Sabinorum[60] juventute in hâc urbe commissum sit; "horret animus ne quid inconsultè ac temere fiat. Hæc, "nostrâ vestrâque causâ, priùs dicenda vobis, consules, "ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet extemplò hinc domum "abire in animo est, ne cujus[61] facti dictive contagione "præsens violer." Hæc locutus abiit. Consules quum ad Patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magìs, ut fit, quàm res, ad præcavendum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatûsconsulto, ut urbe excederent Volsci[62], præcones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primò discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit. Proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta: "Se, ut con-

"sceleratos contaminatosque, ab ludis, festis diebus, "cœtu quodammodo hominum deorumque, abactos esse."

XXXVIII. Quum propè continuato agmine irent, prægressus Tullus ad caput Ferentinum[63], ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens, querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos[64] sedulò audientes secunda iræ verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam, in subjectum viæ campum deduxit. Ibi in concionis modum orationem exorsus, "Veteres populi[65] Romani injurias, cladesque gentis "Volscorum, ut omnia," inquit, "obliviscamini alia, "hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, "quâ[66] per nostram ignominiam ludos commisêre? An "non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? vos "omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, "spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? vestras conjuges, vestros "liberos, traductos per ora hominum[67]? Quid eos, qui "audivêre vocem præconis? quid, qui vos vidêre "abeuntes? quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuêre "obvii, existimâsse putatis? nisi aliquod profectò nefas "esse, quo, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus "ludos, piaculumque merituri[68]; ideo nos ab sede "piorum, cœtu, concilioque, abigi. Quid deinde? illud "non succurrit, vivere nos, quòd maturavimus pro"ficisci? si hoc profectio, et non fuga[69], est. Et hanc "urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi, si unum diem "morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis "indictum est, magno eorum malo, qui indixêre, si "viri estis." Ita et suâ sponte irarum pleni, et incitati[70], domos indè digressi sunt; instigandoque suos quisque populos effecêre, ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

XXXIX. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententiâ lecti Attius Tullus et C. Marcius, exsul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem nequaquam fefellit[71]; ut facilè appareret, ducibus validiorem, quàm exercitu, rem Romanam esse. Circejos profectus, primùm colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Indè, in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus[72], Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, novella hæc[73] Romanis oppida ademit. Indè Lavinium recepit[74]; tunc deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Lavicos, Pedum,

cepit. Postremùm ad urbem à Pedo ducit; et, ad fossas Cluilias[75] quinque ab urbe millia passuum castris positis, populatur indè agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magìs, sive ut discordia indè inter Patres plebemque oriretur. Quæ profectò orta esset, adeò tribuni jam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant; sed externus timor, maximum concordiæ vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se, jungebat animos. Id modò non conveniebat[76], quòd senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem, quàm in armis, ponebant; plebes omnia, quàm bellum, malebat. Sp. Nautius[77] jam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos, recensentes legiones, præsidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes[78] vigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primùm seditioso clamore conterruit; deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcium mittendis, coëgit. Acceperunt relationem Patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum retulerunt: "Si Volscis "ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; si prædâ belli per "otium frui velint, memorem se et civium injuriæ, et "hospitum beneficii, adnisurum ut appareat, exsilio sibi "irritatos, non fractos, animos esse:" Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos, îsse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magìs[79], quàm legatos, flexisse animum.

XL. Tum matronæ ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coëunt. Id publicum consilium[80], an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio. Pervicêre certè, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia, duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios, secum in castra hostium irent; et, quam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrymisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est, nunciatumque Coriolano adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo[81] (ut qui nec publicâ majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tantâ offusâ oculis animoque religione motus esset,) multo obstinatior adversùs lacrymas muliebres erat. Dein fami-

liarium quidam, qui insignem mœstitiâ inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stantem, "Nisi "me frustrantur," inquit, "oculi, mater tibi conjuxque "et liberi adsunt." Coriolanus, propè ut amens, consternatus[82], ab sede suâ quum ferret matri obviæ complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa, "Sine, prius- "quam complexum accipio, sciam[83]," inquit, "ad hostem, "an ad filium, venerim; captiva materne in castris tuis "sim. In hoc me vita longa et infelix senecta traxit, ut "exulem te, deinde hostem, viderem? Potuisti populari "hanc terram, quæ te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, "quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti "fines ira cecidit? non, quum in conspectu Roma fuit, "succurrit[84], *intra illa mœnia domus ac penates mei sunt,* "*mater, conjux, liberique?* Ergo, ego nisi peperissem, "Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera, "in liberâ patriâ, mortua essem. Sed ego nihil jam pati, "nec tibi turpius, quàm mihi miserius, possum[85]; nec, "ut sim miserrima, diu futura sum. De his videris; "quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors, aut longa servitus, "manet." Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi; fletusque ab omni turbâ mulierum ortus, et comploratio sui patriæque, fregêre tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retrò ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, invidiâ rei oppressum[86] perîsse tradunt; alii alio leto[87]. Apud Fabium[88], longè antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio. Refert certè hanc sæpè eum exactâ ætate usurpâsse vocem: "Multo miserius seni exsilium esse." Non inviderunt laudes suas mulieribus viri Romani; adeò sine obtrectatione gloriæ alienæ vivebatur. Monumento quoque[89] quod esset, templum Fortunæ Muliebri ædificatum dedicatumque est. Rediêre deinde Volsci, adjunctis Æquis, in agrum Romanum; sed Æqui Attium Tullum haud ultrà tulêre ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine[90] imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prælium, ortum. Ibi fortuna populi[91] Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minùs pernicioso quàm pertinaci certamine confecit. Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquillius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquillio Hernici, (nam ii quoque in armis erant,) provincia evenit[92].

Eo anno Hernici devicti; cum Volscis æquo Marte discessum est[93].

XLI. Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Virginius consules facti. Cum Hernicis fœdus ictum; agri partes duæ[94] ademptæ; inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi, divisurus consul Cassius erat. Adjiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri à privatis criminabatur. Id multos quidem Patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica Patribus[95] sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. Tum primùm lex agraria promulgata est, nunquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat, auctoribus Patribus, nec omni plebe adversante; quæ primò cœperat fastidire, munus vulgatum à civibus îsse in socios[96]. Sæpe deinde et Virginium consulem in concionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat: "Pestilens collegæ munus esse. Agros illos servitutem "iis, qui acceperint, laturos. Regno viam fieri. Quid "ita enim assumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid "attinuisse Hernicis, paullo antè hostibus, capti agri "partem tertiam reddi[97], nisi ut hæ gentes pro Coriolano "duce Cassium habeant?" Popularis jam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariæ cœperat. Uterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Virginius dicere passurum se assignari agros, dum ne cui, nisi civi Romano, assignentur. Cassius, quia in agrariâ largitione ambitiosus in socios[98], eóque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, jubere pro Siculo frumento[99] pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id verò haud secus, quàm præsentem mercedem regni, aspernata plebes; adeò propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. Quem, ubi primùm magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt, qui patrem auctorem ejus supplicii ferant: eum, cognitâ domi causâ, verberâsse ac necâsse, peculiumque[1] filii Cereri consecravisse. Signum indè factum esse[2], et inscriptum, EX CASSIA FAMILIA DATUM. Invenio apud quosdam, idque propiùs fidem[3] est, à quæstoribus K[4]. Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis[5], damnatumque populi judicio:

dirutas publicè ædes. Ea est area ante Telluris ædem. Ceterùm sive illud domesticum, sive publicum fuit judicium, damnatur Ser. Cornelio, Q. Fabio consulibus.

XLII. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariæ legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate[6] Patrum; qui, devictis eo anno Volscis Æquisque, militem prædâ fraudavêre. Quidquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul, ac redegit in publicum[7]. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem; tenuêre[8] tamen Patres, ut cum L. Æmilio K. Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domesticâ bellum externum excivit. Bello deinde civiles discordiæ intermissæ. Uno animo Patres ac plebes rebellantes Volscos et Æquos, duce Æmilio, prosperâ pugnâ vicêre. Plus tamen hostium fuga, quàm prœlium, absumpsit: adeò pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites. Castoris ædes eodem anno Idibus Quinctilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello, Postumio[9] dictatore. Filius ejus, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus, dedicavit. Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariæ legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebis popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant[10]. Patres, satìs superque gratuiti[11] furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi Patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuêre. Ea igitur pars reipublicæ vicit, nec in præsens modò; sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium[12] Kæsonis fratrem, et magìs invisum alterum plebi, accusatione Sp. Cassii, L. Valerium consules dedit. Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores, jactando irritum munus, facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens, post tres continuos consulatus, unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus,[13] habitum. Itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in eâ familiâ aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Vejens initum; et Volsci rebellârunt. Sed ad bella externa propè supererant vires[14]; abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessêre ad ægras jam omnium mentes prodigia cœlestia[15], propè quotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique irâ numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant, publicè privatimque, nunc extis, nunc per aves, consulti[16], quàm haud ritè sacra fieri.

Qui terrores tamen eò evasêre[17], ut Oppia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti, pœnas dederit.

XLIII. Q. Fabius indè et C. Julius consules facti. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi, et bellum forìs atrocius fuit. Ab Æquis arma sumpta. Vejentes agrum quoque[18] Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente curâ, K. Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Æqui oppugnabant. Vejentes, pleni jam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur. Qui terrores, quum compescere deberent, auxêre insuper animos plebis; redibatque, non suâ sponte[19], plebi mos detrectandi militiam; sed Sp. Licinius tribunus plebis, venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariæ Patribus injungendæ, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterùm tota invidia tribuniciæ potestatis[20] versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acriùs, quàm ipsius ejus collegæ, coorti sunt; auxilioque eorum delectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur; ducendus Fabio in Æquos, in Vejentes Furio, datur[21]. Et in Vejentibus quidem nihil dignum memoriâ gestum est. Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus, quàm cum hostibus, fuit. Unus ille vir ipse consul rempublicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam, quum consul, præter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem, ut, solo equitatu emisso, exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in præsentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redîsset, cogere potuit[22] gradum accelerare; aut, si aliud nihil, instare[23] instructos. Injussu signa referunt, mœstique, (crederes victos,) exsecrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quæsita sunt: adeò excellentibus ingeniis citiùs defuerit ars, quâ civem regant, quàm quâ hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit, non tam belli gloriâ auctâ, quàm irritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinuêre tamen Patres, ut in Fabiâ gente consulatus maneret. M. Fabium consulem creant. Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

XLIV. Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariæ habuit. Ti[24]. Pontificius fuit. Is, eandem viam, velut processisset[25] Sp. Licinio, ingressus, delectum paullisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum Patribus, Ap. Claudius, "Victam tribuniciam potestatem," dicere, "priore anno, "in præsentia re ipsâ[26], exemplo in perpetuum, quando "inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim "unquam defuturum, qui et ex collegâ victoriam sibi, et "gratiam melioris partis bono publico[27], velit quæsitam. "Et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium "consulum paratos fore; et unum vel adversùs omnes "satìs esse. Darent modò et consules et primores "Patrum operam, ut, si minùs omnes, aliquos tamen ex "tribunis reipublicæ ac senatui conciliarent." Præceptis Appii moniti patres et universi comiter ac benignè tribunos appellare, et consulares, ut cuique privatim aliquid juris adversùs singulos erat[28], partim gratiâ, partim auctoritate, obtinuêre, ut tribuniciæ potestatis vires salubres vellent reipublicæ esse; quatuorque tribunorum[29] adversùs unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio delectum consules habent. Indè ad Vejens bellum profecti; quò undique ex Etruriâ auxilia convenerant, non tam Vejentium gratiâ concitata, quàm quòd in spem ventum erat discordiâ intestinâ dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Principesque in omnium Etruriæ populorum conciliis fremebant, "Æternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter "semet ipsi seditionibus sæviant. Id unum venenum[30], "eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna "imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum[31] id malum, "partim Patrum consiliis, partim patientiâ plebis, jam "ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex unâ factas; "suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges, esse. Primùm "in delectibus sævire solitos; eosdem in bello tamen pa-"ruisse ducibus. Qualicunque urbis statu, manente "disciplinâ militari, sisti[32] potuisse. Jam non parendi "magistratibus morem[33] in castra quoque Romanum "militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsâ acie, in ipso "certamine, consensu exercitûs traditam ultro victoriam "victis Æquis; signa deserta; imperatorem in acie relic-"tum; injussu in castra reditum. Profectò, si instetur, "suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse,

"quàm indici ostendique bellum; cetera suâ sponte fata "et deos gesturos." Ea spes Etruscos armaverat, multis invicem casibus victos victoresque[34].

XLV. Consules quoque Romani nihil præterea aliud, quàm suas vires, sua arma, horrebant. Memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eò[35], ubi duæ simul acies timendæ essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi[36], "diem "tempusque[37] forsitan ipsum leniturum iras, sanitatem-"que animis allaturum." Vejens hostis Etruscique eo magìs præpropere agere; lacessere ad pugnam; primò obequitando castris provocandoque; postremò, ut nihil movebant, quà consules ipsos, quà exercitum, increpando: "Simulationem intestinæ discordiæ remedium timoris[38] "inventum; et consules magìs non confidere, quàm non "credere, suis militibus[39]. Novum seditionis genus, "silentium otiumque inter armatos." Ad hæc in novitatem generis originisque, quà falsa, quà[40] vera, jacere. Hæc quum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud ægrè consules pati[41]; at imperitæ multitudinis nunc indignatio, nunc pudor, pectora versare[42], et ab intestinis avertere malis; nolle inultos hostes; nolle successum[43], non Patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeò superbè insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in prætorium conveniunt; poscunt pugnam; postulant ut signum detur. Consules, velut deliberabundi, capita conferunt[44]; diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas[45] erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum immaturum rem agi; nondum tempus pugnæ esse; castris se tenerent. Edicunt indè, ut abstineant pugnâ; si quis injussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros[46]. Ita dimissis, quo minùs consules[47] velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accedunt insuper hostes ferociùs multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum est. Quippe "impunè se "insultaturos; non credi militi arma; rem ad ultimum "seditionis[48] erupturam; finemque venisse Romano "imperio." His freti occursant portis; ingerunt probra; ægrè abstinent quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non

ultrà contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non jam sensim, ut antè, per centurionum principes[49] postulant; sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde[50], ad crescentem tumultu jam metum seditionis[51] collegâ concedente, quum silentium classico fecisset: "Ego istos[52], Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; "velle ne scirem, ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque "decretum est non dare signum, nisi victores se redi-"turos ex hâc pugnâ jurant. Consulem Romanum "miles semel in acie fefellit; deos nunquam fallet." Centurio erat M. Flavolejus, inter primores pugnæ flagitator[53], "Victor," inquit, "M. Fabi, revertar ex acie." Si fallat, Jovem Patrem, Gradivumque Martem aliosque iratos invocat deos[54]. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque jurat[55]. Juratis datur signum; arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam, irarum speique pleni. Nunc jubent Etruscos probra jacere, nunc armatis sibi quisque[56] linguâ promptum hostem offerri. Omnium, illo die, quà plebis, quà Patrum, eximia virtus fuit. Fabium nomen, Fabia gens, maximè enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illâ pugnâ sibi reconciliare statuunt. Instruitur acies; nec Vejens hostis Etruscæque legiones[57] detrectant.

XLVI. Propè certa spes erat non magìs secum pugnaturos, quàm pugnaverint cum Æquis; majus quoque aliquod[58], in tam irritatis animis et occasione ancipiti, haud desperandum esse facinus. Res longè aliter evenit; nam non alio antè bello infestior Romanus (adeò hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules morâ, exacerbaverant) prælium iniit. Vix explicandi ordinis[59] spatium Etruscis fuit, quum, pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis[60] temere magìs, quàm emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat[61]. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium, (tertio hic anno antè consul fuerat) principem[62] in confertos Vejentes euntem, ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto, præceps Fabius in vulnus abiit[63]. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde

Romanus; quum M. Fabius consul transiluit jacentis corpus, objectâque parmâ, "Hoc jurâstis," inquit, "milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? adeò ignavissimos hostes magìs timetis, quàm Jovem Martemque, per quos jurâstis? At ego injuratus[64] aut victor revertar, aut prope te hìc, Q. Fabi, dimicans cadam." Consuli tum K. Fabius[65] prioris anni consul: "Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent, te impetraturum credis? Dii impetrabunt, per quos juravêre. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potiùs quàm adhortando, accendamus militum animos." Sic in primum infestis hastis provolant[66] duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

XLVII. Prælio ex parte unâ restituto, nihilo segniùs in altero cornu Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat, ubi propè similis fortuna est versata. Nam, ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium, jam velut fusos agentem hostes, et impigrè milites secuti sunt; et, ut ille[67] gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati, gradum retulêre, cessissentque loco, ni consul alter, cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos; simul et vanior[68] jam erat hostium acies, dum, abundante multitudine freti, subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quæ haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum prædæ magìs quàm pugnæ memores, terunt[69] tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nunciis, quo loco res essent[70], conglobati ad prætorium[71] redeunt, et suâ sponte ipsi prælium renovant; et Manlius consul, revectus in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito, hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magìs quàm audaciam accendit. Nam, quum incursantes, quácunque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquoties impetu îssent, globus juvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit[72]. Prima excepta à circumstantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circà omnes. Tuscis crescit

audacia. Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit, et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati, rapto consulis corpore, patefecissent unâ portâ hostibus viam. Eâ erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem; ibi iterum cæsi fusique passim. Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu triumphum, "Si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro "eximiâ eo bello operâ facilè passurum," respondit; "se, familiâ funesta Q. Fabii fratris morte, republicâ ex "parte orbâ consule altero amisso, publico privatoque "deformem luctu lauream non accepturum." Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeò spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior redit. Funera[73] deinde duo deinceps collegæ fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque laudator[74], quum, concedendo illis suas laudes, ipse maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor ejus, quod initio consulatûs imbiberat[75], reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit Patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati; nec alibi majore curâ habiti. Inde populares jam esse Fabii; nec hoc ullâ, nisi salubri reipublicæ, arte.

XLVIII. Igitur non Patrum magìs, quàm plebis, studiis K. Fabius cum T. Virginio consul factus, neque bella[76], neque delectus, neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quàm ut, jam aliquâ ex parte inchoatâ concordiæ spe, primo quoque tempore cum Patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariæ legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent[77] Patres ipsi suum munus facere; captivum agrum plebi quàm maximè æqualiter darent; "verum esse[78] "habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit." Aspernati Patres sunt; questi quoque quidam, nimiâ gloriâ luxuriare[79] et evanescere vividum quondam illud Kæsonis ingenium. Nullæ deinde urbanæ factiones fuêre. Vexabantur incursionibus Æquorum Latini; eò cum exercitu Kæso missus in ipsorum Æquorum agrum depopulandum[80] transit. Æqui se in oppida receperunt, murisque se tenebant; eò nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At à Vejente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis; actumque de exercitu foret, ni K. Fabius in

tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Vejentibus fuit; res proximè formam[81] latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello, invicem eludentes[82]. Ita neque omitti tota res, nec perfici, poterat. Et alia bella aut præsentia instabant, ut[83] ab Æquis Volscisque, non diutiùs, quàm recens dolor proximæ cladis transiret, quiescentibus; aut mox moturos se apparebat Sabinos semper infestos, Etruriamque omnem. Sed Vejens hostis, assiduus magìs, quàm gravis, contumeliis sæpiùs quàm periculo, animos agitabat; quòd nullo tempore negligi poterat, aut averti aliò sinebat[84]. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit; consul pro gente loquitur: "Assiduo magìs, "quàm magno, præsidio, ut scitis, Patres conscripti, "bellum Vejens eget. Vos alia bella curate; Fabios "hostes Vejentibus date. Auctores sumus tutam ibi "majestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis, "velut familiare, bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo "est. Respublica et milite illic et pecuniâ vacet." Gratiæ ingentes actæ. Consul è curiâ egressus, comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiæ, senatûsconsultum exspectantes, steterant, domum rediit. Jussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

XLIX. Manat totâ urbe rumor; Fabios ad cœlum laudibus ferunt. "Familiam unam subîsse civitatis onus; "Vejens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma, "versum. Si sint duæ roboris ejusdem in urbe gentes, "deposcant, hæc Volscos[85] sibi, illa Æquos; populo "Romano tranquillam pacem agente, omnes finitimos "subigi populos posse." Fabii postero die arma capiunt; quò jussi erant, conveniunt. Consul, paludatus[86] egrediens, in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium, signa ferri jubet. Nunquam exercitus neque minor numero, neque clarior famâ et admiratione hominum, per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneret egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus[87], ibant, unius familiæ viribus Vejenti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria[88] alia

cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem, nec curam, sed immensa omnia, volventium animo; alia publica, sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. "Ire fortes, ire felices[89]," jubent; "inceptis eventus pares "reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia præmia "ab se, omnes honores, sperare." Prætereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quicquid deorum oculis, quicquid animo, occurrit, precantur, ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. Incassùm missæ preces. Infelici viâ dextro Jano portæ Carmentalis[90] profecti, ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo præsidio. L. Æmilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti; et, donec nihil aliud quàm in populationibus res fuit, non ad præsidium modò tutandum Fabii satìs erant, sed totâ regione, quà Tuscus ager Romano adjacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrumque finem, fecêre. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus[91] fuit; dum et Vejentes, accito ex Etruriâ exercitu, præsidium Cremeræ oppugnant; et Romanæ legiones, ab L. Æmilio Consule adductæ, cominùs cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quanquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Vejentibus fuit: adeò inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introëunt[92], subsidiaque locant, invecta subitò ab latere Romana equitum ala, non pugnæ modò incipiendæ, sed consistendi, ademit locum. Ita, fusi retro ad saxa Rubra, (ibi castra habebant) pacem supplices petunt; cujus impetratæ, ab insitâ animis levitate, ante deductum Cremerâ Romanum præsidium, pœnituit.

L. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Vejenti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu[93], certamen; nec erant incursiones modò in agros, aut subiti impetus incursantium, sed aliquoties æquo campo collatisque signis certatum; gensque una populi Romani sæpe ex opulentissimâ, ut tum res erant, Etruscâ civitate[94] victoriam tulit. Id primò acerbum indignumque Vejentibus visum; inde consilium ex re natum[95] insidiis ferocem hostem captandi; gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora prædantibus aliquoties, velut casu incidissent, obviàm acta; agrestium fugâ vasti relicti agri; et subsi-

dia armatorum, ad arcendas populationes missa, sæpiùs simulato, quàm vero, pavore refugerunt. Jamque Fabii adeò contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Hæc spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul à Cremerâ, magno campi intervallo, pecora (quanquam rara hostium apparebant arma[96]) decurrerent; et, quum improvidi, effuso cursu, insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superâssent[97], palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore injecto, raperent pecora, subitò ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique[98] hostes erant. Primò clamor circumlatus exterruit; dein tela ab omni parte accidebant[99]; coëuntibusque Etruscis, jam continenti agmine armatorum septi, quo magìs se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere; quæ res et paucitatem eorum insignem, et multitudinem[1] Etruscorum, multiplicatis in arcto ordinibus[2], faciebat. Tum omissâ pugnâ, quam in omnes partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant[3]; eò, nisi corporibus armisque[4], rupêre cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem; inde primò restitêre; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit, recipiendique à pavore tanto animum, pepulêre etiam subeuntes; vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Vejens in verticem collis evasisset[5]; ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii cæsi ad unum[6] omnes, præsidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perîsse satìs convenit; unum propè puberem ætate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiæ, dubiisque rebus populi Romani sæpè domi bellique vel maximum futurum[7] auxilium.

LI. Quum hæc accepta clades esset[8], jam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversùs Tuscos victoriâ elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque malè pugnatum est, et Janiculum hostes occupavêre; obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum annonâ premente[9], (transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim) ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeòque id bellum ipsis institit mœnibus, ut primò pugnatum ad Spei sit æquo Marte[10], iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quanquam parvo momento[11] superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo, in futura prælia id certamen fecit. A. Virginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post

acceptam proximam pugnæ cladem[12] Vejentes abstinuêre acie; populationes erant, et velut ab arce Janiculi[13] passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant; non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes, erant. Capti deinde eâdem arte sunt, quâ ceperant Fabios. Secuti deditâ operâ passim ad illecebras propulsa pecora, præcipitavêre in insidias[14]; quo plures[15] erant, major cædes fuit. Ex hâc clade atrox ira majoris cladis causa atque initium fuit; trajecto enim Tiberi, castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare; indè fusi magnâ cæde in Janiculum se ægrè recepêre. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim; castra sub Janiculo communit. Postero die, luce ortâ, nonnihil et hesternâ felicitate pugnæ ferox, magìs tamen, quòd inopia frumenti, quamvis in præcipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia[16], temerè adverso Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, fœdiúsque indè pulsus, quàm pridie pepulerat, interventu collegæ ipse exercitusque ejus est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, quum invicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi[17]. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Vejens bellum.

LII. Urbi cum pace laxior[18] etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campaniâ frumento, et, postquam timor sibi cuique futuræ inopiæ abiit, eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. Ex copiâ deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi; et pristina mala, postquam forìs deerant, domi quærere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agrariâ lege; in resistentes incitare Patres, nec in universos modò, sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariæ legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiæ erat amissum Cremeræ præsidium, quum haud procul indè stativa consul habuisset. Eum oppresserunt[19]. Quum et Patres haud minùs, quàm pro Coriolano, annisi essent, et patris Agrippæ favor haud dum exolevisset, in mulctâ temperârunt[20] tribuni. Quum capitis anquisîssent[21], duo millia æris damnato mulctam dixerunt; ea in caput vertit[22]. Negant tulisse[23] ignominiam ægritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse. Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni, ab L. Cædicio et T. Statio tribunis die dictâ, non, ut Menenius, precibus suis aut Patrum, sed cum multâ fiduciâ innocentiæ gratiæque,[24] tribunicios

impetus tulit. Et huic[25] prælium cum Tuscis ad Janiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo antè, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modò, sed plebem, oratione feroci refutando, exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, (cujus patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum sæviret, magistratus, eas leges[26], haberet) periculum audaciâ discussit. Juvit et Virginius collega, testis productus, participando laudes[27]: magìs tamen Menenianum (adeò mutaverant animum[28]) profuit judicium.

LIII. Certamina domi finita. Vejens bellum exortum; quibus Sabini arma conjunxerant[29]. P. Valerius consul, accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Vejos missus, castra Sabina, quæ pro mœnibus sociorum locata erant, confestim aggreditur; tantamque trepidationem injecit, ut, dum dispersi alii aliâ manipulatim excurrunt[30] ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta, cui signa primùm intulerat, caperetur. Intra vallum deinde cædes magìs, quàm prælium, esse; tumultus è castris et in urbem penetrat; tanquam Vejis captis, ita pavidi Vejentes ad arma currunt; pars Sabinis eunt subsidio; pars Romanos, toto impetu intentos in castra, adoriuntur. Paullisper aversi[31] turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utróque versis signis resistunt[32]; et eques, ab consule immissus, Tuscos fundit fugatque; eâdemque horâ duò exercitus, duæ potentissimæ et maximæ finitimæ gentes superatæ sunt[33]. Dum hæc ad Vejos geruntur, Volsci Æquique in Latino agro posuerant castra, populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini, assumptis Hernicis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio, castris exuerunt. Ingenti prædâ, præter suas recuperatas res, potiti sunt; missus tamen ab Româ consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliæque non editum in Volscos est: nec tamen perpelli potuêre, ut acie dimicarent.

LIV. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Vejentes provincia evenit; non tamen bellatum; induciæ in annos quadraginta petentibus datæ, frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externæ confestim continuatur[34] discordia domi; agrariæ legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs

furebat. Consules, nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii, summâ vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius[35], tribunus plebis, arripuit[36]. L. Æmilius et Opiter Virginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum Julium pro Virginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno (quoscunque consules habuit) rei ad populum[37] Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magìs, quàm juniores Patrum[38]. Suadent, monent, "Honoribus et administratione rei-"publicæ abstineant; consulares verò fasces, prætextam, "curulemque sellam, nihil aliud quàm pompam funeris, "putent; claris insignibus, velut infulis, velatos[39] ad "mortem destinari. Quòd si consulatûs tanta dulcedo "sit, jam nunc ita in animum inducant consulatum "captum et oppressum ab tribuniciâ potestate esse; "consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum "imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit[40], "si respexerit Patres, si aliud, quàm plebem, esse in "republicâ crediderit, exsilium C. Marcii, Menenii dam-"nationem et mortem, sibi proponat ante oculos." His accensi vocibus Patres consilia indè, non publica, sed in privato, seductaque[41] à plurium conscientiâ, habere; ubi quum id modò constaret jure an injuriâ[42] eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quæque maximè placebat sententia; nec auctor quamvis audaci[43] facinori deerat. Igitur judicii die, quum plebs in foro erecta exspectatione[44] staret, mirari primò, quòd non descenderet tribunus; deinde, quum jam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum à primoribus credere, et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri. Tandem, qui obversati[45] vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nunciant domi mortuum esse inventum; quod ubi in totam concionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii aliò. Præcipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quàm nihil auxilii sacratæ leges haberent, morte collegæ monitos. Nec Patres satìs moderatè ferre lætitiam; adeòque neminem noxiæ pœnitebat[46], ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam[47] tribuniciam potestatem.

LV. Sub hâc pessimi exempli victoriâ[48] delectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione ullâ consules rem peragunt. Tum verò irasci plebes tribunorum

magìs silentio, quàm consulum imperio, et dicere "Actum esse de libertate suâ; rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio unà mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem; aliud agendum, ac cogitandum, quomodo resistatur Patribus. Id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus[49], et eos ipsos plebis homines. Nihil contemptius[50], neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnant. Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere[51]." His vocibus alii alios quum incitâssent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quòd ordines[52] duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor missus est à consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Quum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem, et virgas expediri[53], jubent. "Provoco," inquit, "ad populum," Volero, "quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis cædi malunt, quàm ipsi in lecto suo à vobis trucidari." Quo ferociùs clamitabat, eo infestiùs circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero, et prævalens ipse, et adjuvantibus advocatis[54], repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eò[55] se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans, "Provoco, et fidem plebis imploro; adeste cives! adeste commilitones! nihil est, quòd exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est." Concitati homines, veluti ad prælium, se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse[56]; nihil cuiquam[57] sanctum, non publici fore, non privati juris. Huic tantæ tempestati quum se consules obtulissent, facilè experti sunt parum tutam majestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis, è foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti, quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu, quum in senatum vocari[58] jussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicêre seniores, quibus irâ Patrum adversùs temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

LVI. Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi[59] creat in eum annum, qui L. Pinarium, P. Furium consules habuit; contraque omnium[60] opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus

permissurum tribunatum[61] credebant, post publicam causam[62] privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis[63] fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo primâ specie minimè atroci[64] ferebatur; sed quæ patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos auferret. Huic actioni, gratissimæ plebi, quum summâ vi resisterent Patres, nec, (quæ una vis ad resistendum erat[65],) ut intercederet, aliquis ex collegio[66] auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen, suo ipsa molimine gravis[67], certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit. Patres, ad ultimum dimicationis[68] rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium, Appii filium, jam indè à paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque[69] plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur. Principio statim anni nihil priùs, quàm de lege, agebatur; sed, ut inventor legis Volero, sic Lætorius, collega ejus, auctor[70] quum recentior, tum acrior, erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quòd ætatis ejus haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, quum Volero nihil, præterquam de lege, loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appii familiæque superbissimæ ac crudelissimæ in plebem Romanam exorsus[71], quum à Patribus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem, creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua[72] non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque, deficiente oratione, "Quandoquidem non facilè[73] "loquor," inquit, "Quirites, quàm, quod locutus sum, "præsto, crastino die adeste. Ego hìc aut in conspectu "vestro moriar, aut perferam legem." Occupant tribuni templum[74] postero die. Consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in concione consistunt. Submoveri[75] Lætorius jubet, præterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adolescentes nobiles stabant, nihil cedentes viatori[76]. Tum ex his prehendi quosdam Lætorius jubet. Consul Appius negare jus esse tribuno in quemquam, nisi in plebeium; non enim populi, sed plebis[77], eum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse more majorum; quia ita dicatur: "Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites." Facilè et contemptim[78] de jure disse-

rendo perturbare Lætorium poterat. Ardens igitur irâ tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem; consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine magistratu[79]; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et concio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset; et concursus hominum in forum ex totâ urbe concitatæ multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinaciâ tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento prælio foret, ni Quinctilius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato, ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem sævientem precibus lenîsset, nunc orâsset tribunos, ut concilium dimitterent. "Darent iræ spatium; non vim suam illis tempus ademptu-"rum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et Patres in "populi, et consulem in Patrum fore potestate."

LVII. Ægrè sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo ægriùs consul alter à Patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis, senatum consules habent; ubi, quum timor atque ira invicem sententias variâssent, quo magìs, spatio interposito, ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plùs abhorrebant à certatione animi[80]; adeò ut Quinctio gratias agerent, quòd ejus operâ mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, "Ut tantam[81] consularem majestatem "esse vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. "Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahunt, "nihil relictum esse virium in medio[82]; distractam[83] "laceratamque rempublicam; magìs quorum in manu "sit, quàm ut incolumis sit, quæri." Appius contrà testari Deos atque homines, "Rempublicam prodi per "metum ac deseri; non consulem senatui, sed senatum "consuli, deesse; graviores accipi leges quàm in Sacro "monte acceptæ sint." Victus tamen Patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

LVIII. Tum primùm tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt; numero etiam addito[84], tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, C. Sicinium, L. Numitorium, M. Duilium, Sp. Icilium, L. Mæcilium. Volscum Æquicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum; vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. Compositis deinde rebus, castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius

in Volscos missus. Quinctio Æqui provincia evenit. Eadem in militiâ sævitia[85] Appii, quæ domi, esse liberior, quòd sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plùs quàm paterno odio: "Se victum ab eâ; se unico consule "objecto[86] adversùs tribuniciam potestatem, perlatam "legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tantâ "Patrum spe, priores impedierint consules." Hæc ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum sævo imperio exercitum stimulabat, nec ullâ vi domari poterat, tantum certamen animis imbiberant[87]. Segniter, otiosè, negligenter, contumaciter, omnia agere; nec pudor, nec metus, coërcebat. Si citiùs agi vellet agmen, tardiùs sedulò incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes suâ sponte motam remittere industriam[88]; præsenti vultus demittere, tacitè prætereuntem exsecrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni nequicquam acerbitate promptâ[89], nihil jam cum militibus agere; à centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere; "tribunos "plebi" cavillans, interdum et "Volerones," vocare.

LIX. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magìs, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversùs Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversùs Fabium[90] consulem habuisset. Ceterùm multo Appio, quàm Fabio, violentior fuit. Non enim vincere tantùm noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fugâ petit castra; nec antè restitit, quàm signa inferentem Volscum munimentis videt, fœdamque extremi agminis cædem. Tum expressa vis[91] ad pugnandum, ut victor jam à vallo submoveretur hostis; satìs tamen appareret capi tantùm castra militem Romanum noluisse; alii[92] gaudere suâ clade atque ignominiâ. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus. Quum insuper sævire vellet, concionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique, monentes ne utique experiri[93] vellet imperium, cujus vis omnis in consensu obedientium esset. "Negare vulgò milites se ad concionem ituros; "passimque exaudiri voces postulantium, ut castra ex "Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paullo antè "propè in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentisque mali non "suspicionem modò, sed apertam speciem obversari ante "oculos." Victus tandem, (quandoquidem nihil, præter

tempus noxæ, lucrarentur[94]) remissâ concione, iter in insequentem diem pronunciari quum jussisset, primâ luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Quum maximè[95] agmen è castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo[95*] pavore signaque et ordines[96] turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri, neque instrui acies, possent; nemo ullius, nisi fugæ, memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem[97] corporum armorumque evasêre, ut priùs hostis desisteret sequi, quàm Romanus fugere. Tandem, collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul, quum revocando nequicquam suos persecutus esset[98], in pacato agro castra posuit; advocatâque concione, invectus haud falsò[99] in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinæ, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque[1], qui reliquerant ordines, virgis cæsos securi percussit; cetera multitudo, sorte decimus quisque, ad supplicium lecti.

LX. Contra ea in Æquis inter consulem ac militem comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et naturâ Quinctius erat lenior, et sævitia infelix collegæ, quò is magìs gauderet ingenio suo, effecerat. Huic tantæ concordiæ ducis exercitûsque non ausi offerre se Æqui, vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi. Nec ullo antè bello latiùs inde actæ prædæ; omnis militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus, haud minùs quàm præmio, gaudent militum animi. Tum duci[2], tum propter ducem Patribus quoque placatior exercitus rediit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum, datum ab senatu, memorans. Variâ fortunâ belli, atroci discordiâ domi forisque annum exactum, insignem maximè comitia tributa efficiunt: res major[3] victoriâ suscepti certaminis, quàm usu; plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est, Patribus ex concilio submovendis, quàm virium aut plebi additum est, aut demptum Patribus.

LXI. Turbulentior indè annus excepit, L. Valerio, Ti. Æmilio consulibus, cùm propter certamina ordinum de lege agrariâ, tum propter judicium Ap. Claudii, cui, acerrimo adversario legis, causamque possessorum publici agri, tanquam tertio[4] consuli, sustinenti, M. Duillius

et C. Sicinius diem dixêre[5]. Nunquam ante tam invisus plebi reus ad judicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum[6], plenus paternarum irarum. Patres quoque non temerè[7] pro ullo æquè annisi sunt: "propugnatorem "senatûs, majestatisque vindicem suæ, ad omnes tribu-"nicios plebeiosque oppositum[8] tumultus, modum dun-"taxat in certamine egressum[9], iratæ objici plebi." Unus ĕ Patribus, ipse Ap. Claudius, et tribunos, et plebem, et suum judicium, pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minæ plebis, non senatûs preces, perpellere unquam potuêre, non modò ut vestem mutaret[10], aut supplex prensaret homines; sed ne ut ex consuetâ quidem asperitate orationis (quum ad populum agenda causa esset) aliquid leniret atque submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat; adeò ut magna pars plebis Appium non minùs reum timeret, quàm consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu; adeóque constantiâ suâ et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem, ut diem ipsi suâ voluntate prodicerent[11]; trahi deinde rem[12] sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; antè tamen, quàm prodicta dies veniret, morbo moritur. Cujus quum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollenni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit; et laudationem[13] tam æquis auribus mortui audivit, quàm vivi accusationem audierat; et exsequias frequens celebravit.

LXII. Eodem anno Valerius consul, cum exercitu in Æquos profectus, quum hostem ad prœlium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit fœda tempestas, cum grandine ac tonitribus cœlo dejecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeò tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut, velut numine aliquo defensa, castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit[14]; omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit[15]. Alter consul, Æmilius, in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis mœnibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modò, sed etiam vicorum[16], quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti, quum prædatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti prœlio digressi, postero die retulêre castra in tutiora loca. Id satìs consuli visum,

cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro indè decedens bello[17].

LXIII. Inter hæc bella, manente discordiâ domi, T. Numicius Priscus, A. Virginius consules facti. Non ultrà videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariæ legis, ultimaque vis parabatur, quum Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis villarum fugâque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac propè erumpentem repressit. Consules, coacti extemplò ab senatu ad bellum[18], eductâ ex urbe juventute, tranquilliorem ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quàm[19] perfusis vano timore Romanis, citato agmine abeunt. Numicius Antium adversùs Volscos, Virginius contra Æquos, profectus. Ibi ex insidiis propè magnâ acceptâ clade, virtus militum rem, prolapsam negligentiâ consulis, restituit. Meliùs in Volscis imperatum est. Fusi primo prœlio hostes, fugâque in Antium, urbem, ut tum res erant, opulentissimam, acti; quam consul oppugnare non ausus, Cenonem, aliud oppidum, nequaquam tam opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Æqui Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populantes[20] incessêre; deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium, quàm intulerant, acceperunt.

LXIV. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper aliàs, sollicitæ certamine Patrum et plebis. Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit. Per Patres clientesque Patrum consules creati T. Quinctius, Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, quum cædes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, à portâ propè Collinâ mœnibusque pulsi, ingentes tamen prædas hominum pecorumque egêre. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus, ipsum quidem agmen adipisci æquis locis non potuit; populationem adeò effusè fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret, multiplicique[21] captâ prædâ rediret. Et in Volscis respublica egregiè gesta, quum ducis, tum militum, operâ. Primùm æquo campo signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti cæde[22] utrinque, plurimo sanguine; et Romani, quia paucitas[23] damno

sentiendo propior erat, gradum retulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, concitâsset aciem; impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicêre[24]. Consul, metuens ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessêre pauci dies, velut tacitis induciis, utrinque quiete sumptâ; per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Æquisque populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint[25], Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertiâ ferè vigiliâ[26] ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exciverat, quum manere in tentoriis quietum militem jussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem[27] educit; cornicines tubicinesque, in equos impositos, canere ante vallum jubet, solicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeò tranquilla omnia in castris fuêre, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures[28] esse, et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui, et insueto[29] sedente equite, et insuper aures agitante sonitu, sæviebant, intentos[30] velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

LXV. Ubi illuxit, Romanus, integer satiatusque somno, productus in aciem, fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit; quanquam cessêre magìs, quàm pulsi, hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia[31] integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem; miles ægrè teneri; clamare et poscere, ut perculsis instare liceat. Ferociùs agunt equites; circumfusi duci vociferantur se ante signa[32] ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quò leviores[33] ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus, effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa objacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus crebris urget ex superiore loco. Sic propè oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus jam gradum consul, increpando simul temeritatem, simul ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset. Restitêre primò obstinatis animis; deinde, ut in obtinentes locum vires[31] ferebant, audent ultro gradum inferre; et, clamore renovato, com-

movent aciem[34]; tum rursus, impetu capto[36], enituntur, atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. Jam propè erat, ut in summum clivi jugum evaderent, quum terga hostes dedêre; effusoque cursu penè agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidêre. In eo pavore castra capiuntur; qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus; paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nullâ oppugnantium novâ vi[37], sed quòd jam inde ab infelici pugnâ castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

NOTES TO BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—[1] *Imperia.*] This is not taken here in its proper sense, which is "military command."

[2] *Proxima regis superbia.*] *Proximi* is another reading, perhaps a more natural one.

[3] *Omnes deinceps conditores partium certè urbis.*] "That they may all in succession be deservedly counted founders of the several parts, at least, of the city, which they added to it, as being intended as new seats for the multitude, which was increased by themselves." *Certè* means, that though they were not entitled to be counted founders of the whole city, they ought to be considered founders of parts of it at least. *Multitudini* depends on *sedes*, not on *addiderunt*. *Sedes multitudini.*—So we find *locum seditioni, insidiis, lubidini, criminationi; monumentum miraculo; urbi fundamenta; dies judicio; remedium timori; finis populationibus; omen concordiæ; veniam errori; materia orationi;* and many similar phrases which render the substitution of *multitudinis* here for *multitudini,* according to Rhenanus and others, unnecessary, and indeed incorrect, unless backed by the authority of many and respectable MSS. *Cœptæ urbis* was the reading of some MSS. which is incorrect.

[4] *Pessimo publico id facturus fuerit.*] "Would have done it to the very great injury of the state, or of the public interest."—So Varro de re Rust. B. 1. c. 13, *cum Metelli et Lucilli villis, pessimo publico ædificatis, certant.*—Gell. B. 7. c. 3. *Catone id, quod optimum esse publicum existimabat, suadente.*—Tacit. Annal. B. 3. c. 70. *Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod egregium publicum et bonus domi artes dehonestavisset :—bonum publicum* and *malum publicum* are phrases often used.

[5] *Sub tutelâ inviolati templi.*] *i. e.* The asylum.

[6] *Cui longo tempore assuescitur.*] "To which people become familiarized only by length of time." Let the young reader mark, that *assuescitur,* an impersonal passive, is an unusual expression.

[7] *Fovit.*] "Nurtured." A metaphor borrowed from the insensible growth of trees, say some commentators.

[8] *Deminutum.*] *Deminuere* is simply "to reduce," "to lessen by taking off a part;" but *diminuere* is "to make a thing smaller by breaking it into pieces." However, the words are often confounded. *Diminutum* is another reading.

[9] *Omnia insignia.*] Except the crown and sceptre.—See B. 3. c. 36. n.

[10] *Primoribus equestris gradûs lectis ad trecentorum summam.*] "To the full number of three hundred senators." This was the regular number of senators fixed by Tarquinius Priscus.—See B. 1. ch. 35. note 24. By the tyranny of Tarquin the Proud they were reduced to one hundred and thirty-six. The number of three hundred lasted, with small variation, to the age of Sylla. In the time of J. Cæsar they amounted to nine hundred. Augustus reduced them to six hundred. It is not certain at what time (but by these words it must have been before this) the *equites*, or those who were originally the cavalry, called also *celeres*, became a distinct order under the state. Perhaps it was under Ser. Tullius.—See B. 1. c. 43. After the order became established, all those, who served on horseback, were not properly called *equites*, or "knights," but only those who were elected into it, and presented with a horse at the public expense, and with a gold ring, which they always wore. Their tunic was ornamented in front with a line or stripe of small purple studs or buttons, *angusti clavi*, and was thence called *angusticlavus*, or *tunica angusticlava*, to distinguish it from the senator's tunic, called *laticlavus*, because it had a similar ornament, but much broader. According to a law proposed by L. Roscius Otho, A. U. 686, they sat at the theatre and all the public shows behind the orchestra (which was the place set apart for the senators) on fourteen seats; hence the phrases *annulo aureo*, or *equo donari*, *sedere in quatuordecim*, *spectare in equite*, signified to hold the rank of knight. They were chosen promiscuously from the patricians and plebeians. Those of them, who were descended from noble families, were distinguished by the epithets of *illustres*, *splendidi*, *speciosi*. The age requisite for election was about eighteen years; hence they were called *juvenes* and *adolescentes*; and they should possess a certain fortune, which, towards the end of the republic, and under the emperors, should be 400 sestertia, (that of the senators being 1200,) or about £3,230. After the appointment of censors, the election was usually made by them. At first their office was to serve in the army, but afterwards they acted as judges or jury-men; (see B. 3. c. 24. n.) and were mostly the persons who farmed the public revenues, *publicani*, *vectigalium conductores*. Every year, on the 15th of July, they all rode in procession (called *transvectio*) from the temple of Mars, outside the city, to the capitol; and every fifth year, on

this occasion, dismounting, led along *(traducebant)* their horses before the Censor, who was seated in his curule-chair; and thus they were reviewed *(recognoscebantur)* by him. If a knight was corrupt in morals, or diminished his fortune, or even neglected his horse, the Censor ordered him to sell his horse, and he was thus removed from the order; hence *adimere equum.* The first knight in the Censor's list was called *princeps juventutis.*

[11] *Traditum.*] "From this is said to have been handed down the practice of summoning (by the public crier, see B. 3, c. 38, or by proclamation, *edictum*) into the senate those who were fathers, and those who were conscript." This word *conscripti* was afterwards applied to all the senators. *Conscripti* properly meant those who were enrolled with the old senators, from *conscribere,* "to enrol." *Patres conscripti* properly meant *patres et conscripti.*

[12] *Mirum quantùm.*] See B. 1. c. 16. n. 2.

[13] *Patribus.*] Livy had just mentioned that the chiefs of the equestrian order were chosen into the senate; Dionysius says they were plebeians; hence we may suppose that they were mostly, if not all, plebeians, but possessing the fortune of knights. Festus, B. 15, says, that one hundred and sixty-four plebeians were at this time admitted into the senate. This seems to agree with Dionysius.

CHAP II.—[14] *Ne ubiubi.*] "Lest there should be felt a want of kings in any matter whatever, they appoint a king of the sacrifices." *Ubiubi,* like *qualisqualis, quantusquantus, undeunde,* for *qualiscunque, &c.* This king of the sacrifices, whom they made subject to the jurisdiction of the pontiff, was not allowed to hold any civil office, or harangue the people. The readings are various, such as *necubi, necubi ibi, necubi ubi; ne ubiubi* seems to be most approved of; but I confess, though I have given *ubiubi* in the text, and also the explanation of it which I have found in the commentators, I think the word at best an awkward one. *Ne ullam ibi,* or *ne ibi* simply, which some MSS. warrant would in my judgment be a better reading.—*Regem sacrificulum;* he is elsewhere called *regem sacrificum, regem sacrificiorum,* and *regem sacrorum.*

[15] *Nescio an modum excesserint.*] "I do not know but that they exceeded the proper bounds."

[16] *Ne intervallo quidem facto, oblitum, tanquam alieni, regni.*] "That Tarquin the Proud did not even, in consequence of the interval that elapsed, (*i. e.* the reign of Serv. Tullius,) give up all thoughts of the kingdom, as of a thing which really belonged to another, (as he ought,) but that he thought to regain it by guilt and violence, as if it were the inheritance of his family."

[17] *Tentantium animos sermo.*] "This language, used by persons at first gradually sounding the dispositions of the people, was circulated."

[18] *Hominis causâ.*] "On account of the man," from his regard for him.

[19] *Regium nomen.*] His name was L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

[20] *Obstare libertati.*] See B. 1. c. 26. n. 95; B. 2. c. 33. n.

[21] *Absolve beneficium.*] Complete the favour you have conferred on your country.

[22] *Major.*] Superior to the rest in age and respectability; or it may mean "superior to him," by taking *dignitas* to signify not high rank or office, but respectability, high character, and influence in general, which is here the proper meaning of the word, according to Crevier and Doujatius.

[23] *Rogando alternis suadendoque.*] Alternately. Scil. *sermonibus.* So B. 4. c. 53, *alternis inconditi versus militari licentiâ jactati;* c. 57, *ubi diu alternis Julius Corneliusque disseruêre.*

[24] *Cessit.*] Plutarch, in his life of Publicola and Dionysius, B. 5, says, that he was not expelled until he attempted to save his nephews, the Aquillii, who were concerned in the conspiracy formed to restore Tarquin. And it is also stated that he got twenty talents out of the public treasury, and five from Brutus out of his own property, as compensation.

CHAP. III.—[25] *In regno.*] "During the king's reign."

[26] *Æquales sodalesque.*] "Being of the same age, and the convivial companions of the young Tarquins."

[27] *Libertatem aliorum . . . . . . vertisse.*] The verb here, as elsewhere, is taken in a neuter or passive sense.

[28] *Regem hominem esse à quo impetres.*] There is a forcible opposition between *hominem* and *leges,* implied by the words *rem surdam*—a king is but a man, and man may be swayed by favour; not so the laws, which are deaf to expostulation.—Perizonius.

[29] *Gratiæ locum.*] "That with him there was room for favour, for good offices;" *i. e.* that he could be swayed and influenced by both.

[30] *Solâ innocentiâ vivere.*] To have no security for life but innocence.

[31] *Legati alii alia moliri.*] Doujatius, Crevier, and others, consider the present reading incorrect, as the ambassadors had not each of them a separate plan to pursue; but "all" demanded "in a body," publicly before the senate, restitution of the king's property, and privately organised the conspiracy with the young nobles. So they propose either of the following readings: *legati cum aliis alia moliri; i. e.* the ambassadors were pursuing one course with the senate, and another with the young nobles; or *legati alia moliri,* the ambassadors began to plan another course of operation, besides the open demand of restitution; *i. e.* the conspiracy.

[32] *Tanquam ad id quod agi videbatur.*] "As if to promote

the business which seemed to be carrying on; *i. e.* the restitution of the king's property."

CHAP. IV.—[33] *Adolescentes liberi.*] "Sons grown up to manhood."—See B. 1. c. 56. n. 42.

[34] *Quî credituros eos non vana . . . . . . afferri.*] "How could they (the Tarquins) otherwise believe that false representations were not made to them." The different readings of this passage are numerous, of which the most rational are, "*quî credituros eos non nisi vana, &c.; quid credituros eos nisi vana, &c.*

[35] *Quum pridie.*] Walker says that Crevier and others reject the *et* before *cænatum*; but he says the common reading can be thus explained, *quum pridie (esset) ejus diei quo legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur et cænatum esset.* This, however, is rather forced. If the clauses *et cænatum . . . esset,* and *conjuratique . . . . . . egissent,* from the supposed impropriety of making *que* follow *et,* be thought not to be good Latin, and not correspond one with another, as I think they do, and that any change be made, I think *et conjurati ibi* would be the simplest; *et,* as being only a repetition of the last syllable of *esset,* may have been easily omitted by transcribers through ignorance or carelessness, and *que* introduced to complete the sentence. However this is only a conjecture: indeed it is not clear to me whether *et . . . . . . que* may not be used as *et . . . . . . et;* nothing is more common in the classics than such variation of phrase.

[36] *Commisisse.*] "Though they seemed to furnish grounds for being considered in the light of enemies, yet the law of nations (which makes the character of an ambassador inviolable) prevailed." *Committere* often means, in Cicero, to furnish grounds, or afford an occasion for a thing.

CHAP. V.—[37] *Res integra refertur ad patres.*] "The question is laid anew before the senate."

[38] *In publicum redigi.*] Rendered public property. *Scil. in publicum ærarium.*—See ch. 43. n. 7.

[39] *Contacta regiâ prædâ.*] "Touched or infected with the king's plunder." Polluted, as it were, and rendered criminal in the eyes of the king by their plundering his property. *Contacta* is often used in this sense. B. 31. c. 8, *multis in Italiâ contactis gentibus Punici belli societate.*—And B. 38. c. 55, *ut omnia contacta societate peculatûs viderentur.*—B. 4. c. 9, *velut contactâ civitate rabie duorum juvenum.*—c. 15, *bonaque contacta pretiis regni mercandi publicarentur* *Contractâ* and *contrectatâ* (abl. abs.) are other readings.

[40] *Martius deinde campus fuit.*] Dionysius says that this place was consecrated to Mars long before this, but that Tarquin, who disregarded all religion, tilled it and took possession of it.

[41] *Religiosum.*] "Religious scruples prevented them from making use of." *Religio, religioni esse,* and *religiosum esse,* are indiscriminately used to signify the prohibition of religion.

[42] *Desectam.*] "A great number of men, sent into it in a body, cut it down, both grain and straw, and threw it with baskets into the Tiber."

[43] *Inde paullatim et aliis.*] "Gradually by means of this and other things."

[44] *Manuque adjutam.*] "It was aided by the labour of human hands." This island lay between Rome and the Janiculum; it was called the sacred island, *insula sacra,* from the number of temples on it.

[45] *Miserebatque non pœnæ magìs homines, quàm sceleris.*] "And men felt pity not more on account of their punishment than their guilt," because they looked upon this guilt as proceeding not so much from any bad principle, as from some blind infatuation.

[46] *Illos, eo.*] These are the reflections of the people.

[47] *Eminente.*] "While the feelings of parental affection appeared evident during the discharge of his duty in inflicting public punishment." Drakenborch says the passage means, that, while he superintended the public punishment of his sons, his stern mind, though he was their father, was a more remarkable spectacle than his stern countenance; *i. e. animo eminente supra spectaculum oris.* But, though Dionysius and others represent him as obdurate and unmoved, this meaning seems improbable, as how could his firmness of mind be seen except by his steadiness of countenance? besides, it is scarcely credible that on such an occasion he did not evince some symptoms of humanity and fatherly love. *Eminere* usually means "to be conspicuous or remarkable." Walker, with great probability, imagines that Livy intended to convey a different idea of Brutus from what Dionysius did.

[48] *Secundùm pœnam.*] "Next after punishing the guilty, in order that there may be a signal example on both sides for the prevention of crimes, there were given, as a reward to the informer, a sum of money out of the treasury, his freedom, and admission to the privileges of a citizen.

[49] *Vindictâ.*] This was the rod which was laid on the head of a slave by the prætor before he emancipated him. When a master wished to emancipate a slave, the usual method was, to bring him before the magistrate, and say, "I wish this man to be free." The magistrate then, putting a rod on his head, said "he is free." Whereupon the lictor, or the master, turning him round in a circle (which was called *vertigo*) and giving him a blow on the cheek, (*alapa,*) let him go.

[50] *Post illum.*] "After him it became a rule duly observed, that those who were emancipated in this way, should be considered as admitted to the privileges of the state." He uses the word *ita,* as there was another mode of emancipation instituted by Servius, called *per censum,* when the name of a slave, with the

consent of his master, was registered, according to the amount of property he could produce in the public registry of property. There was a third species of emancipation, called *per testamentum*, when a master gave a slave his liberty by his will.

CHAP. VI.—[51] *Ad irritum cadentis.*] "Sinking to disappointment." There are numerous instances among the best writers of participles taken as substantives; so Virg. Æn. 5, *sorbet in abruptum fluctus.*—So Milton's Paradise Lost, "down the vast abrupt,"—"o'er the palpable obscure."

[52] *Se ortum.*] "A man sprung from themselves."

[53] *Ex tanto modò regno.*] "From a kingdom lately so flourishing."

[54] *Romano saltem duce.*] "That they should wipe off their disgrace now at least, when under a Roman general;" as they were not able to do so before, when under a leader of their own. They insinuate that they have now no excuse. *Pro se quisque*, every one with all possible earnestness. *Pro se, pro me, pro te*, always mean to the utmost of one's individual power. Like καθ' ἑαῦτον, κατ' ἐμαῦτον, κατὰ σεαῦτον. These words are explained by commentators to signify "alone" or "with the utmost exertion." The reason is, that they give only a part of their signification. The words properly mean, to exert one's power to the utmost, independently of the co-operation of any other.

[55] *Tarquinienses.*] See B. 1. c. 24.

[56] *Eodem modo.*] "In the same way the enemy's cavalry formed the front of the army." *Eques* is sometimes used for *equitatus.*

[57] *Ipse, en, ille . . . . . . magnificè incedit.*] "He is the very man; behold, the villain marches in state." *Ille* is often used to designate one as remarkable either in a good or bad sense. Such is the force of the word here.

[58] *Decorum erat tum.*] "It was honourable in those days."

[59] *Hærentes hastis.*] *i. e.* The spears which were implanted in them.

[60] *Æquo marte.*] See B. 1. c. 33. n. 98.

CHAP. VII.—[61] *Uno plus.*] "That more of the Etrurians than of the Romans, by one man, fell in the battle; that the Romans gained the victory in the general issue of the war." *Bello* is here the same as *Marte.*—See B. 1. c. 33. n. 98.

[62] *Annum.*] Some say this means a year of ten months, because this was the length of time appointed by Numa for widows to continue in mourning for their husbands.

[63] *Ex favore.*] "After popularity."

[64] *Atroci crimini.*] "A heinous charge." *Crimen* here, as elsewhere, is the same as *criminatio.*

[65] *Summâ Veliâ.*] This was the summit of the Palatine Hill.

[66] *Quum indignitate angerent.*] *Indignitate quoque* is considered

by Crevier and others a better reading; as Valerius was annoyed by two reflections—first, by the danger of incurring popular odium, and secondly, by the heinousness of the charge.

[67] *Summissis fascibus.*] The fasces being lowered, (in token of respect to the people,) being made to bow as it were before the majesty of the people. Dionysius says the axes were taken out of the fasces, and were never after carried in them before the consuls inside the city; this was to show that, at least within the city, they could not behead, and could only flog.

[68] *Ad Aquillios se Vitelliosque recidisse.*] That he had fallen back to a level with the Aquillii and the Vitellii in their estimation, from being thought the liberator of his country.

[69] *Si in ipsâ arce Capitolioque habitarem.*] Crevier says that, properly speaking, these were different parts of the same hill, but which of them contained the temple of Jupiter is doubtful, though the greater probability is, that it was the part called the capitol. But I think *arx* here is not a part, but the whole mountain, called *arx Tarpeia,* (of which *rupes Tarpeia* was a part,) and formerly *mons Saturnius,* from a town built there by Janus and called Saturnia, to commemorate his alliance with Saturn, and that the *capitolium* was properly the fortress or citadel (of which the temple formed a part) built on it, though the name *capitolium* was sometimes given to the whole hill. In this I am supported by the authority of Milton, Paradise Regained, B. 4, l. 43,—

> Great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
> So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
> Of nations; there the capitol thou seest
> Above the rest lifting his stately head
> On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
> Impregnable.——

So Virgil, B. 8, l. 652, describing the shield of Æneas,

> In summo custos Tarpeiæ Manlius arcis
> Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat.

Livy often uses these words together.—See B. 5, c. 39, 40, 41, *et alibi;* see also B. 1, c. 55.

[70] *Momento.*] The MSS. reading is, *tam levi momentaneâque apud vos famâ pendere.* But *momentaneus* is not considered pure Latin. The meaning of the present reading is, has my character such little weight with you?—See B. 1. c. 47. n. 51.

[71] *Vicæpotæ.*] "Where now the temple of victory is;" so called from *vinco* and *potior; ædes* is understood.—See B. 3. c. 48. n. This word has been miserably mutilated in most MSS.

Chap. VIII.—[72] *Verterent.*] *Rem,* or some such word, is understood.

[73] *Popularem.*] "Popular." *Popularis* was used to signify

one who supported the rights of the people, and was in favour with them. *Optimas,* the supporter and favourite of the senate.

[74] *Sacrandoque cum bonis capite.*] "Devoting the life and property." Such a person as this may be killed with impunity.—See ch. 33. n. B. 3. c. 55.

[75] *Tum deinde.*] Pleonasms of this kind are common in Livy. So he uses *itaque ergo, ita sic, jam nunc,* and the like.

[76] *Memoriâ intercidisse.*] "Dropped or faded away from the recollection." *Memoriam intercidisse* is used to express the same sentiment.

[77] *Postem jam tenenti.*] The person, who dedicated a temple, held the door-post during the ceremony.

[78] *Funestâ.*] "Polluted by death." This pollution lasted while the corps remained unburied.—See Æn. 6. 150.

[79] *Non crediderit.*] "Whether he disbelieved the fact, or, having believed it, possessed such strength of mind as not to be disconcerted, is not handed down to us as certain, nor is it easy to conjecture," *i. e.* by explaining his conduct properly.—See B. 1. c. 46. n. 36.

[80] *Nil aliud ad eum nuncium à proposito aversus quàm ut.*] "Without turning off his attention from the business he was engaged in to that news, in any other way than to order the body to be taken away to be buried." If any omen was unexpectedly presented to a man, while his thoughts were employed on some other subject, this was called *augurium oblativum,* and he was at liberty not to receive it, as was the case with Horatius. But if he asked for an omen from the gods, and got one, it was called *impetrativum,* and he was bound to obey it.—See c. 29. n.

CHAP. IX.—[81] *Lartem.*] Some say this means "prince," *i. e.* one of the twelve princes of Etruria.—See B. 4. c. 17. For Etruria was divided into twelve principalities at this time. Others think the word a proper name.

[82] *Amplum.*] "Porsena, thinking it a great thing for the Tuscans both that there should be a king at Rome, and a king too of Tuscan origin——."

[83] *Vel cum servitute pacem acciperet.*] "Would accept of peace, even though it were attended with slavery."

[84] *Salis vendendi.*] "Also the license of selling salt, as it was sold at an exorbitant price, was taken away from private individuals, and placed under the management of the government." *Arbitrium* means not only a right and power granted to do a thing, but also the price paid for such right and power. *Arbitria funeris,* in Cicero, is the tax or duty paid by the undertakers of funerals. *Omni sumptu* was the usual reading.—See B. 1. c. 33, end.

[85] *Portoriis.*] "The people were released from port duties and taxes in order that the rich, who were able to bear the burden, might defray the public expenses." There are several

phrases similar to *esse ferendo*, as *esse solvendo, esse pascendo,* and the like. In these, *idoneus, sufficiens,* or some such word, is understood.—See Sanctius Minerva, B. 4. c. 4.

CHAP. X.—[86] *Præsidio.*] *i. e.* The Janiculum, where they were stationed to guard the place.

[87] *Transitum pontem.*] "If they crossed the bridge, and left it behind them." So *Alpes transitæ*, B. 21. c. 43. *Amne transito*, B. 23. c. 28. Some read *transitui;* some, *transitum per;* some make *transitum* a substantive in apposition with *pontem.*

[88] *Insignis.*] "Conspicuous among those whose backs were seen, as they retreated from the battle:" *i. e.* by his maintaining his ground, he was easily distinguished from those who fled. *Pugna* would be a better reading.

[89] *Quod tumultuosissimum pugnæ.*] "And what was the most furious part of the battle."

[90] *Servitia.*] "Slaves."—See B. 3, c. 15, n.

[91] *Ingenti gradu.*] This is what Homer expresses by εὖ διαβὰς, "parting wide his feet for vantage sake," as Cowper translates it. It does not mean, "with vast strides," as some think, since he remained in one fixed and firm position. *Gradus* is sometimes applied to a fixed position; so *in gradu stare; de gradu movere, &c.*—See B. 6, c. 32.

[92] *Pavore subito.*] "Gave a momentary check to the assault of the Tuscans, in consequence of the sudden consternation they were thrown into."

[93] *Tiberine.*] This was the tutelar divinity of the river.—So Æn. 8. 31,

> Hic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amæno
> Populeas inter senior se attollere frondes.

[94] *Ita sic armatus.*] "Armed as he was." Οὕτως is often used in a similar sense.—See the Gospel by St. John, c. 1, v. 6, and Elsner's remarks on it; so Walker; but Drakenborch and others say the words are a pleonasm, like *itaque ergo, jam nunc, &c.;* some reject *sic;* some for *ita* read *inde* and retain *sic.*

[95] *Statua in comitio.*] It was afterwards struck with lightning and removed into the temple of Vulcan.—See Gell. 4. 5.

[96] *Quantum uno die circumaravit.*] "As much as 'he drew a furrow round' in one day with a plough." Dionysius says that Scævola got the same.

CHAP. XI.—[97] *Ab oppugnandâ urbe ad obsidionem.*] "Changing his plan from storming to blockading the city."

[98] *Adeò infestum——reddidit.*] "He so harassed."—See B. 3, c. 24, n.

[99] *Aversissima ab hoste.*] "Completely at the opposite side from the enemy."

[1] *In obsidione.*] "Because, during the siege and scarcity of provisions, faithless slaves were in the habit of deserting. And they did discover it by the information of a deserter."

[2] *Secundum lapidem Gabinâ viâ.*] "At the two-mile stone on the road to Gabii."

[3] *Næviâ.*] This gate was between the Tiburtian and Esquilian gates.

[4] *Educit.*] Leads out from Mount Cœlius, *i. e.* through the gate called Cœlimontana, which was between the Porta Nævia and the Porta Collina; so that when the enemy passed out through the Porta Collina, they were hemmed round on every side.

[5] *Concurrit.*] Rushes from his ambush on the enemy. Crevier says *consurgit* is more correct.

CHAP. XII.—[6] *Servientem, quum sub regibus esset.*] "Even when in a state of slavery, while they were under their kings."

[7] *Itaque.*] "And so (as I intended to state) Mucius resolved." The discourse was suspended, while Livy stated Mucius' reflections, and now he resumes the thread of the story, and returns, as it were, to state his determination. *Itaque* here has the same force as ἀϱὰ often has in Homer. Crevier explains it by "therefore."

[8] *Fortunâ tum urbis crimen affirmante.*] "As the forlorn state of the city at this time would stamp credibility on the charge." So B. 32, c. 35, *opinionem affirmare*, "to confirm the opinion."

[9] *Ignorando regem.*] "By showing his ignorance of the king." So Ter. Andr. Prol., *næ faciunt intelligendo ut nihil intelligant.*

[10] *Quò temere traxit fortuna facinus.*] "To whom (*i. e.* the secretary,) chance blindly directed the stroke."

[11] *Destitutus.*] "Placed." The word properly means to fix down or station.—See B. 23. c. 10.

[12] *Fortia.*] With bravery. In Greek and Latin the neuter of adjectives, particularly in the plural, is often used adverbially.

[13] *Capite dimices.*] "That you may be in danger of losing your life."—See B. 3. ch. 44, at the end. Duker and Crevier think *de* should be used before *capite;* but the verb is sometimes found without the preposition. Verbs, compounded with prepositions, are used, as has been before shown, with or without the repetition of such prepositions.

[14] *Uni tibi, et cum singulis, res erit.*] "You alone must decide the affair with us, aye, and with us one by one." Such is the force of *et singulis;* the words represent the perpetual danger the king would be in, as he would always have a new enemy to encounter in each person.

[15] *Circumdari ignes.*] "Fires to be kindled round him."—See B. 3. c. 26, 28.

[16] *Gloriam vident.*] "Who have great glory in view." There are many instances of *video* in this sense; *petunt* is another reading.

[17] *Attonitus.*] "This properly means "thunderstruck," rendered powerless by a stroke of lightning; hence "stupified."

[18] *Juberem macte virtute esse.*] "I would bid you increase or prosper in bravery." *Macte,* from *magis auctus,* is a vocative case, or an interjection formed from it. The phrase *macte virtute,* or, *virtutis,* as it is sometimes in poetry, is used in praising, congratulating, or exhorting one; the word is sometimes plural, *macti.*—See B. 7. c. 36. Some insert *te* here; some reject *esse.*

[19] *Jure belli liberum.*] "Released from the law of war," or the consequences of that law; *i. e.* from the punishment, which by the laws of war I could inflict on you as an enemy. So B. 4. c. 33, *liberi frænis equi.*—See B. 1. c. 1. n. 20.

[20] *Ut cuique ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit.*] "The rest, according as it shall have fallen to each man's lot first, (*i. e.* before the rest of his associates,) shall be with you, each at his proper time, until fortune, on some favourable opportunity, shall have given you into their power." *Primo* is by many considered faulty. Another reading is *utcunque ceciderit primo,* which is thus explained: "according to the success that shall attend me, who drew the first lot." I think the present reading makes good sense. The readings of this passage are various; some reading *primum;* some, *primi* (genit.), connecting it with the following words; and some, *quò* for *quoad.*

Chap. XIII.—[21] *Scævolæ.*] A left-handed man was called *scævola* from σκαιὸς, "left." Mutius now had only the use of his left hand.

[22] *Quo nihil se ...... texisset.*] "From which nothing but the mistake of the assassin had sheltered him." *A quo* would be the ordinary style.

[23] *De agro Vejentibus restituendo.*] Dionysius says that Porsena required this land to be given to himself as a requital for granting peace. This seems the more probable account, as Livy himself, ch. 15, says that he gave it back to the Romans.

[24] *Expressaque necessitas.*] Walker says a thing may be said *exprimi necessitate, vi, metu,* "to be extorted by necessity, or fear, or violence;" see B. 3. c. 28 and 30, B. 4. c. 55; B. 8. c. 2, *et alibi;* but that *expressanecessitas,* "necessity was extorted," is a strange and unclassical phrase, and he proposes *expressitque, i. e.* the necessity of giving hostages to the Romans, wrung them from them.

[25] *Alias haud magni facere.*] "The others he set no high value on."

[26] *Præ se ferre.*] "Openly declared."

[27] *Parte obsidum.*] "Half the hostages."—So B. 8. c. 4, *et alibi.* In English "share" is sometimes used in this sense.

[28] *Virginitati decorum.*] "A selection, which both reflected

honour on her virgin delicacy, and was one, that would be approved of by the unanimous consent of the hostages themselves."

CHAP. XIV.—[29] *Pacatæ profectioni.*] "The custom handed down from the ancients, (and, among other established usages, it still continues even to the present time at every sale of public property,) 'of selling king Porsena's goods,' is inconsistent with this peaceful departure of the Etrurian king from the city." The public crier, before the sale began, repeated this form of words, which seem to breathe a hostile spirit, though they did not, as appears from the king's peaceful departure, originate from any hostile proceeding. *Titulos* is a "form of words" used to show or explain any thing, a title, an inscription; as *titulus libri, sepulchri, imaginis,* &c.; hence it often signifies "a sign or indication."

[30] *Proximum vero.*] "Of all the accounts that are given, this seems nearest to the truth, that Porsena, &c."

[31] *Venîsse.*] "Were sold," from *veneo, ire, ivi, um.*

[32] *In potestatem populi Romani esset.*] "Which was not even in the power of, &c." So we find *in custodiam habere, in amicitiam esse,* and such phrases; this is an idiom borrowed from the Greeks, who often used εἰς "towards," for ἐν, "within."

[33] *Declinavêre.*] "Turned aside."

[34] *Prælatos hostes.*] "And having wheeled about, attacked on the rear the enemy, who dashed beyond them in loose array."

CHAP. XV.—[35] *P. Lucretius.*] There is an omission here of the consuls of one year. According to Dionysius, M. Horatius and P. Valerius were consuls, and after them Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius.

[36] *Non quin.*] "It was not because this answer could not be briefly returned, 'that the king would not be received,' that a select number of the patricians was for this purpose sent to him, rather than this answer at once given to his ambassadors at Rome; but——"

[37] *Romani, nisi.*] "And when the Romans should, unless they wished to be accessary to their own destruction, give a refusal to one, to whom they would wish to refuse nothing."

[38] *Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate, esse.*] The obvious, and, I think, the most natural, meaning of the words is this, "the Romans were no longer under the dominion of their kings, but in the enjoyment of liberty," and that therefore they were resolved to maintain that liberty, and have no more kings; but Walker says that Porsena already knew this, and that it was unnecessary to tell him so. He says the clause is introduced to give a reason for the preceding one, "*nisi in p. s. f. e. v.*," and that it means "that the Roman people, under the government of the kings, did not exist as a people," *i. e.* had no power

or influence; but that now, in a free state, and in the enjoyment of liberty, they did exist as a people, *i. e.* had influence and power.

CHAP. XVI.—[39] *Adversùs eos.*] To oppose these, and at the same time to prevent any sudden danger that might arise from Tusculum.

[40] *Belli pacisque auctores.*] "Those who were the advocates for peace, and those who were the advocates for war."

[41] *Turbatoribus belli.*] "The agitators of war."

[42] *Par factioni.*] "A match for the faction opposed to him."

[43] *Claudia tribus.*] It is probable that the Claudian tribe was not formed until nine years after this, when Claudius was consul. —See ch. 21. It is said that not less than five thousand families accompanied him. This in some measure accounts for his rapid elevation.—See B. 4. c. 4

[44] *Principum dignationem.*] "The respectability or rank of the first men in the state." *Dignatio, ἀξίωμα.*

[45] *Coloniæ.*] See B. 1. c. 3.

[46] *Compulsum est.*] All the Auruncian forces were obliged to collect at Pometia, and make their last stand there.—See B. 1. c. 33.

[47] *Iram belli.*] "The enemy (the Romans) did not withhold the fury of war even from the hostages."—See B. 1. c. 1. n. 20. *Ira belli hostilis* is the more general reading.

CHAP. XVII.—[48] *Vineis.*] *Vinea* was a machine constructed of timbers strongly framed together, mounted on wheels, and covered with hurdles, over which was put a quantity of earth; thus protected against the missile weapons of the enemy, the assailants moved forward the machine, and, under cover of it, endeavoured to beat down or undermine the wall.

[49] *Reditum.*] Intell. *est.* "They returned."

[50] *Relictus.*] *i. e.* In the camp at Pometia.

[51] *Pometiæ.*] "Against Pometia."

[52] *Coloni alii.*] "The rest who were colonists (*i. e.* the citizens of Pometia) were sold by auction." There are many instances of this kind of construction, as Walker rightly observes, so B. 17. c. 19, *ex ingenti captivorum numero trecenti quinquaginta octo delecti, nobilissimus quisque, qui Romam mitterentur; vulgus aliud trucidatum;* "the other portion, which consisted of the rabble;" we cannot say "the other rabble," for that would be making the nobles a rabble. So in Luke, c. 23. v. 32, ἤγοντο δὲ ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ, "two others, who were malefactors, were brought along with him:" we cannot say "two other malefactors," for that would be making Christ a malefactor. So Odys. 1. 132. So in this case, if we say, "the other colonists," we must imagine the Aruncians to be colonists; but for this we have no authority. Some MSS. read *aliique. Sub coronâ*, either because captives, while exposed to sale, wore

a sort of crown, or because a guard of soldiers stood round them in a ring.—See Gell. 7. 4.

[53] *Dirutum.*] Yet, in ch. 22, he speaks of Pometia and Cora as places that then flourished, and, in ch. 25, talks of the capture and plunder of Suessa Pometia; in consequence of which inconsistency, it is considered probable that Livy, following different writers, described the same war in two different places. Dionysius makes no mention of this war with the Aurunci.

CHAP. XVIII.—[54] *Rebellionem.*] "A renewal of war." The word has often this meaning in Livy.

[55] *Latini belli.*] It appears that we should, according to some MSS., read *Sabini*, as the thirty states, which are presently said to have conspired, were not Latins. And also read *super*, "besides," as this is the word Livy generally makes use of.—Ch. 27 and 51.—B. 22. 61.—B. 25. c. 20, *et alibi.*

[56] *Mamilio.*] This is the man to whom Tarquinius retired.—Ch. 15.

[57] *Nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniâ essent, ... parum creditum sit.*] "But it is not sufficiently clear in what year; or what consuls were distrusted, as being of Tarquin's party; for that too is handed down to us as a reason for appointing one." If a semicolon were placed after *anno*, the much-talked-of difficulty of this passage would, in my opinion, be diminished. Dionysius says that a dictator was appointed four years before this, when Lartius and Clælius were consuls. The people, complaining during the war with Tarquin of some oppression on the part of the senate, refused to enlist; and, as the consuls, in consequence of the privilege of appeal from their decisions, which was granted to the people by Valerius, could not compel them, a dictator was appointed. They willingly submitted to an absolute master, in order to abridge the power of the senate and consuls. The authority of the dictator lasted but six months. Sylla was the first to extend the time. He could not go out of Italy, or march on horseback, without the permission of the people. He was elected by night, and the nomination had to be confirmed by auspices. He commanded the infantry, and appointed a person called "master of the horse" to command the cavalry. He was himself sometimes called *magister populi.*

[58] *Consulares legere.*] "Men of consular rank elected him." Crevier and others say the words mean, "they (the patricians) appointed men of consular rank to the office;" but in that case Manius Valerius Postumius, next ch., could not possibly be dictator.

[59] *Lex jubebat.*] This law was afterwards somewhat altered. He was elected by one of the consuls, or military tribunes, during the period of their substitution for the consuls.

[60] *Consularis.*] Dionysius says he was consul. But as Livy

is not certain about the year of his consulship, he speaks indefinitely.

[61] *Qui.*] *i. e.* The men of consular rank who elected him.

[62] *Præferri.*] The axes were not carried before the consuls within the city.—See ch. 7, note.

[63] *Auxilium.*] This word, after the appointment of tribunes, was applied to express their peculiar province, which was, "giving 'support' to the people."

[64] *Provocatio.*] But an appeal from the dictator was afterwards granted.—See B. 3. c. 55.

[65] *Adolescentibus.*] See the beginning of this chapter.

[66] *Quod impensæ factum in bellum erat.*] "The expense that was incurred for the war."

[67] *Tacitæ.*] With the tacit consent of both parties, *i. e.* without any formal ratification of it.

CHAP. XIX.—[68] *Gliscens.*] "Kindling." This properly means "to gather strength like a fire."—See preface, n.

[69] *Postumius.*] He was not yet consul; and this fact shows that the dictator should not necessarily be a consular man.—See last ch. n. 58.

[70] *Ætate gravior.*] He was about ninety years of age; therefore Dionysius says he was not at the battle.

[71] *Admisit.*] This is often the same as *immisit*, "urged on."

[72] *Fefellit.*] "Escape the notice of."

[73] *Contra quem.*] Scil. *Æbutium. Et ille*, scil. *Mamilius, Tusculanus dux.*

CHAP. XX—[74] *Ut cujus familiæ.*] "That the family (*i. e.* his own) which gained glory by expelling the kings, should be the same to gain the glory of destroying them."

[75] *Infenso cessit hosti.*] "Shrunk from his infuriated enemy."

[76] *Nec quicquam......equo retardato.*] The galloping of the horse contributed to his fall. This is his reason for saying that the speed of the horse was not in any way checked by the rider's wound.

[77] *Dat signum.*] "He issues his orders."—So B. 5. c. 36; B. 21. c. 14.

[78] *Metu ancipiti.*] *i. e.* Fear both from the enemy, and their own party.

[79] *Exules.*] The body mentioned at the end of the last chapter.

[80] *Tanto vi majore.*] "Encountered the commander of the enemy with strength so much greater, than the master of the horse showed a little before, that——"

[81] *Pro antesignanis.*] "As a front line." The *antesignani* were a body of brave and active young men, armed with pikes, and placed in front of the colours, *ante signa.* Lipsius says the name was given to the whole front line, otherwise called *hastati.* These were not the same as the *velites.*

[82] *Equato genere pugnæ.*] *i. e.* By foregoing the advantage of their horses, and forgetting their superiority of rank.

[83] *Equiti admoti equi.*] *i. e.* Their horses were brought to those horsemen who had dismounted, as above.

[84] *Eodem impetu.*] *i. e.* They never halted until they took the camp.

CHAP. XXI.—[85] *Triennio.*] "During three years."

[86] *Ædes Saturno dedicata.*] It was in this temple the public money and public records were kept.

[87] *Saturnalia.*] "A festival day called *Saturnalia.*" This festival, which afterwards lasted for several days, commenced on the 14th of the calends of January; it was one of general merriment and cessation from all serious business, and, while it lasted, the distinction between master and slave was forgotten.

[88] *Hoc demum anno.*] "Only this year;" *i. e.* not till this year. This is the account of Dionysius.

[89] *Se consulatu abdicâsse.*] "He resigned the consulship," as he would not act with a man, whose sincerity in the cause of the people against the Tarquins was doubtful.

[90] *Implicant.*] "Such mistakes about dates involve the fact in obscurity."

[91] *Qui consules secundùm quosdam.*] "Who were the consuls that came after certain consuls;" *i. e.* there were some consuls whose successors could not be clearly ascertained.

[92] *Nimis luxuriosa.*] "Too intemperate."

[93] *Tribus.*] This was perhaps by the addition of the Claudian tribe.—See c. 16. n. 43.—B. 1. c. 43. n. 11.

[94] *Mercurii.*] See ch. 27.

CHAP. XXII.—[95] *Consilii pœnam.*] "This unexpected event (the invasion of their territories) struck terror into the Volscians, who apprehended no punishment for their mere design," as they did not execute it.

[96] *Armorum immemores.*] Like λάθεσθαι θούριδος ἀλκῆς, Hom., which does not mean, properly speaking, "to forget," but "not to exert or use."

[97] *Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos...... ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit.*] "But the recollection of the recent defeat, which they sustained at Lake *Regillus,* induced the Latins not to refrain even from violating the persons of ambassadors, in consequence of their rage and animosity against any one who would recommend war." *Abstinere* in Livy often means to "cause to refrain from."—See B. 4. c. 59.—B. 8. c. 24.—B. 40. c. 14. He uses the word *violandis,* as the persons of ambassadors were held sacred. Homer calls them Διὸς ἄγγελοι.

[98] *In perpetuum negatum.*] "Which was nearly refused them for ever."

[99] *Latini gaudere facto.*] "The Latins rejoiced at the part

they acted; those among them, who were the authors of peace, were in high esteem."

[1] *Qui captivorum.*] "A great multitude, *i. e.* the captives who had been sent back to their friends, came attending them." Others read *captivorum qui remissi, &c.*, and, according to this, the meaning is, "a great number of captives, who were sent back." Walker prefers this, as he does not think it likely that "all" those who had been sent back, to the number of six thousand, came to Rome.

CHAP. XXIII.—[2] *Nexos.*] If a debtor did not discharge a debt within thirty days after it was demanded of him, he was summoned before the prætor, (before the appointment of prætors, he was summoned before the consul,) who delivered him up to the creditor. He was kept in chains by him for sixty days; and then he was brought for three successive market days before the prætor's tribunal, where a crier proclaimed the debt; and after the third market day, if the debt was not paid, (sometimes the rich redeemed the poor by paying their debts,) the creditor had a right to keep him in slavery until the debt was paid, (such were the *nexi,*) or even sell him. Banishment became afterwards the punishment of the insolvent debtor.

[3] *Ordines.*] *Ordo* was half a *manipulus,* and commanded by a centurion.—See B. 3. c. 44, notes.

[4] *Concionis.*] *Concio* is properly an assembly attending to a public harangue, or any meeting for a public purpose. It sometimes means a public harangue itself.

[5] *Iniquo suo tempore.*] "At a time so distressing to him." The ordinary consequences of war, and his incurring debt, by the levying of the tax, were the ruin of his property.

[6] *Tabem.*] "A consumption."—In B. 7. c. 38, he applies the word to usury.

[7] *Nexu vincti.*] These were the *nexi.* *Nexu soluti* were those who were released from confinement by the payment of their debts.

[8] *Voluntarius.*] Who had suffered no injury, and therefore had nothing to complain of. This word sometimes means one who does a thing wantonly, and without provocation.

[9] *Infrequentiam.*] "The small attendance." No business could be done without the attendance of a certain number of senators; before the time of Sylla it was one hundred; under Augustus it was four hundred.

[10] *Extrahi.*] "Put off or delayed." The phrases *tempus extrahi, res extrahi,* are oftener used than *persona extrahi.* Livy often uses *differri* in the sense in which he uses *extrahi* here.—So B. 26. c. 51, and several other places.

[11] *Et patrum qui.*] "And they thought that those of the patricians, who were absent, had absented themselves, &c."

[12] *Non modò.*] There was not only not sufficient unanimity

among the patricians, but not even among the consuls themselves.—See B. 1. c. 40. n. 61.

CHAP. XXIV.—[13] *Nomina darent.*] *i. e.* To be registered as soldiers.

[14] *Maximâ illâ, sed tamen parte.*] "That fear for the safety of the commonwealth interrupted their deliberation concerning that portion (*i. e.* the plebeians) of the state, which, though indeed the greatest portion, was yet but a portion." He says that they constituted but a part, and not the whole, of the state, as they themselves, by their violence, would seem to believe they did.

[15] *Bello prævertisse quicquam.*] "That no consideration could take precedence of that war: and even though there was some respite from the enemy's attack, that it would be dishonourable for the plebeians not to have taken up arms for their country, until they first received hire, and that it would reflect on the dignity of the patricians to have relieved the fallen fortunes of the plebeians through fear, rather than afterwards through inclination." Walker says that *nec aut plebi* is equivalent to *neque plebi*. Servilius, in order to awaken the pride and shame of the people, artfully uses the word *mercede*, as it would be a base and heartless thing to have felt no more generous incentive than "hire" to fight for their liberty and country. *Mercede* here alludes to the granting of their demands.—See B. 3. c. 40. n.

[16] *Addidit fidem.*] "He gave the stamp of sincerity to his speech by an edict."

[17] *Moraretur.*] "Or keep his children or grandchildren in custody," as a pledge for his debt; because a man's children and grandchildren were by the law in a state of slavery to him, and of course considered as part of his property.

[18] *Ut sacramento dicerent.*] "To take the military oath." After the levy was completed, one soldier was chosen to repeat over the words of the military oath, (*qui reliquis verba sacramenti præiret,*) and the rest swore after him (*in verba ejus jurabant*). Every one, as he passed along, said *idem in me.* *Sacramentum dicere* is another way of expressing it. *Sacramento* appears to be an ablative, governed by *ex* or some such preposition understood.

CHAP. XXV.—[19] *Transitio.*] "Desertion." *Proditio*, "the abandoning of one's post."

[20] *Vellebantur.*] "The fortifications were being demolished;" *i. e.* they began to pull up the stakes of which chiefly they were built.

[21] *Circumdatis.*] "Being drawn round it."

[22] *Recreatus.*] "By this the needy soldiers were relieved a little."

CHAP. XXVI.—[23] *Confestim.*] "Immediately after, the Sabines also;" *i. e.* as well as the Volscians.

[24] *Tumultus enim fuit veriùs quàm bellum.*] *Tumultus* was often, as here, taken in a loose and general sense to signify any

sudden and disorderly taking up of arms, and was then considered of a less formidable nature than *bellum*, which was a war regularly denounced and waged. But what was in a peculiar sense termed *tumultus*, is thus described by Cicero, Phil. 8. 2. 3, *potest bellum esse sine tumultu; tumultus esse sine bello non potest. Quid enim est aliud tumultus, nisi perturbatio tanta, ut major timor oriatur? Unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quòd erat domesticus; tumultum Gallicum, quòd erat Italiæ finitimus; præterea nullum tumultum nominabant. Graviùs autem tumultum esse quàm bellum hinc intelligi licet, quòd bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent.* *Tumultus* is derived from *timor* and *multus*, as appears from this passage; others say, from *tumor* and *multus*. The *vacationes* mentioned here were just causes of exemption from military service.

[25] *Vix fugæ.*] "Had scarcely what was sufficient strength for flight."

[26] *Debellatum est.*] See c. 31. n. 75.

CHAP. XXVII.—[27] *Appellabat.*] See B. 3. c. 36. n.

[28] *Aut, ut auxilio.*] "Or, that as a consul he would assist his fellow citizens; as a commander, his soldiers." *i. e.* By receiving appeals from his colleague's decisions. Gronovius and Crevier think that *aut—aut* should be expunged.

[29] *Ambitiosum.*] "Aiming at popularity."—See B. 3. c. 47. n.

[30] *Æquâsse.*] "He became as unpopular as Appius."

[31] *Solennia.*] Perform the usual ceremonies, either of dedicating the temple, or establishing the college or guild of merchants. *Pro pontifice*, either "in place of the pontiff," or "in presence of the pontiff," who was to go before him (*præire,*) and direct him; *pro* can bear either meaning.

[32] *Primi pili centurioni.*] "The centurion of the first rank." He was the centurion who commanded the first rank or company of the third line of the army. He had the command of the eagle, and ranked before all the centurions of the legion. This third line was called *triarii*, or *pilarii*, because the *pilum* was at first their peculiar weapon. This centurion was also called *primipilus*, or *centurio primus*, or *primi ordinis*. He ranked among the *equites*; and, in the council of war, had a place with the consul and tribunes of the soldiers. The other centurions were called *minores*, or *inferiores ordine.*—See c. 45. n.—B. 3. c. 44.

[33] *Curatio altior fastigio.*] "A commission too high for his rank."

[34] *Consulum alter.*] *i. e.* Appius Claudius.

[35] *Metusque omnis.*] "And all the dread and danger, respecting their liberty, were transferred from the debtors to the creditors, when they were individually assaulted by numbers." *Verto* is often used in a passive or neuter sense.—See ch. 3. and 62, and elsewhere. The creditors now in turn were seized, and dragged off by the debtors.

[36] *Et ad id.*] "And to the criminality of his not having enforced the law respecting debtors, added that of not holding a levy of troops in obedience to the decree of the senate."

[37] *Quotidiana multitudo.*] "The multitude which assembled every day."

[38] *Adeò supererant animi.*] "Such a superabundance of courage had he to withstand public odium."

CHAP. XXVIII.—[39] *Ne in foro.*] "Lest, when they assembled in the forum, they should be thrown into confusion by being obliged to adopt hasty measures."

[40] *Delatam.*] "But about it, when laid before them, they could not take their opinions regularly."—So, Plaut. Mem. 4. 3. 26, *consulam hanc rem amicos,* "I shall consult my friends about this matter."—Cic. Att. 7. 20, *Nec id te consulo.* One of the most ordinary idioms in Greek is two accusatives following a verb, one being governed by the verb, the other by the preposition κατὰ "with respect to," or the like, understood. This idiom is often introduced into Latin in the same manner as here, and also in English poetry.—See c. 57. n.

[41] *Exsequendum.*] "That they should throw the odium of a measure on the senate, which should be attended to by the consular authority."

[42] *Id enim.*] For that that (*i. e.* a man of courage) was worth more than a nominal consul.

[43] *Correpti consules quum......percunctarentur, decernunt.*] "When the consuls, thus rebuked."—See B. 1. c. 46. n.

[44] *Præstaretur fides publica.*] Until the engagement was fulfilled which was made through the public faith.—See c. 24.

[45] *Prope convolavêre.*] "All the young patricians flew in a body almost to the very seats of the consuls." *Properè* is another reading for *propè.* Walker would prefer explaining the words thus: "flew almost in one body."

CHAP. XXIX.—[46] *Utrâque re.*] *i. e.* The obstinacy of the plebeians and patricians.

[47] *Deditâ operâ.*] "Intentionally." *i. e.* In order that the senate might witness the refusal of the people.

[48] *Nihil aliud quàm prehendere prohibito.*] "Who was merely hindered from arresting him." He met with no other opposition.—See c. 8. n.

[49] *Quæstionem.*] "An inquiry into the tumult."

[50] *Decernente.*] "The most violent of them attempting to carry his object, not more by vote than by clamour and bustle."

[51] *Rem non vulgabat.*] "Did not extend the case to the whole body of the people."

[52] *Nec sisti.*] "And that a check could not be given to the evil." *Sistere* is to render a thing stationary and firm. *Sisti non potest* is a phrase which signifies that an impending evil cannot be remedied or stayed.

[53] *Quin.*] This word has the force of an adversative, and means "nay rather."

[54] *Quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium.*] That the consuls could only utter mere threats, and not exercise real power over the people, in consequence of the privilege of appeal granted by Valerius.

[55] *Ardent, conticescet.*] Walker considers these two metaphors, applied to one thing, objectionable.

[56] *Pulset tum mihi lictorem.*] "Let me see then the man who shall strike the lictor, when he shall know that that man alone, (*i. e.* the dictator,) whose majesty he shall have violated, (by striking his lictor,) has power to flog and behead him."

CHAP. XXX.—[57] *Exemplo.*] "The propositions of Virginius and Lartius were injurious by means of the precedent they would establish;" as it would appear that the sedition of the people had wrested concession from the patricians, and this would be encouraging sedition.

[58] *Fidem.*] "One that would destroy all credit," by releasing debtors from the necessity of paying their debts.

[59] *Moderatum utroque.*] *i. e.* Remote from excess on either side, wisely regulated between both; *i. e.* the opinions of Appius and Lartius.

[60] *Factione.*] "Through faction, and men's regard for their own private interests."—See B. 3. c. 64. n.

[61] *Imperium, suo vehemens.*] "That a power, which was in its own nature uncontrollable, should be given to a man of mild disposition."

[62] *Sed et homini.*] "But thinking that this man (whose disposition was conciliatory and mild, and whose family was ever friendly to them) and his power (which was beyond control) could be more safely relied on, than Servilius, (who was temporising and lukewarm, and whose power was overruled by the senate,) they quietly gave in their names." The adversative *sed* implies the contrast between Servilius and Valerius.

[63] *Quantus.*] "Ten legions were levied; such a numerous army as was never before raised. Of this force three legions were given to each of the consuls." Such is the force of *ternæ*

[64] *Oratores.*] *Orator* was a person delegated to plead a cause *Legati*, who were properly persons sent to treat about peace or war, would be incorrect here.

[65] *Retractare arma.*] "To handle arms again." They feared they might employ them against themselves.

[66] *Ne et ipse.*] "Lest he, too, (as well as his colleague,) should waste his time, he provoked the enemy, especially by laying waste their lands, to pitch their camp nearer, and decide the affair by a regular battle." As the Æqui took shelter in the fastnesses of their hills, and gave Vetusius no opportunity of coming to an engagement, he was obliged to remain inactive.

[67] *Medio campo.*] "In the interjacent plain between the camps." So *media planities,* Sall. Jug. *Medius* signifies sometimes "lying between;" sometimes, "in the middle of."

[68] *Coortos.*] He very correctly uses this word, as he before described them to have stood with their pikes fixed in the ground. The word *consurgere* he also applies to the charge of the *triarii,* who waited the enemy with the left leg extended.—See B. 8. c. 8.

[69] *Velut stupentibus.*] "Who appeared to them as if they were paralyzed by fear."

[70] *Impressionem.*] "A charge."

[71] *Adepti fessos.*] "Having easily overtaken the exhausted fugitives, they both took the camp by assault, and, &c."

[72] *Plus sanguinis......factum.*] "More blood was shed." The phrase *facere sanguinem,* to shed blood, occurs also in B. 9. c. 13.—B. 35. c. 51.—And in Ovid, ep. 14. Her. v. 82.

CHAP. XXXI.—[73] *Fundit.*] "Breaks their lines," *fugatque,* "and puts them to flight."

[74] *Quà, dum se cornua latiùs pandunt.*] "In the part where, while the wings extended too widely, they had not properly strengthened with companies their line of battle in the centre." Some read *quam,* and reject the second *aciem,* from a dislike of the repetition of the same word. But Livy shows numerous instances of similar repetitions.

[75] *Debellatumque est.*] "And the war was ended."—See c. 26; *i. e.* the war was concluded by the subjugation of the enemy; for the word means not to put an end to the war in any way, such as, by peace.

[76] *Colonia deducta.*] In leading out a new colony a great deal of form was observed. A decree of the senate or people should be first passed, and the auspices, when consulted, should be favourable. The names of the colonists were regularly enrolled, and certain commissioners, generally three, called *triumviri coloniæ deducendæ,* sometimes more, were appointed to lead it out; and i tmarched on under flying colours. When arrived at the place of destination, the founder, dressed in the Gabinian cincture, marked with a plough the boundary of their city and territory. A new colony could not be led out to a place, where a colony had formerly been planted, according to the regular ceremonies; but, if the original colony was falling off, it was usual to reinforce it by enrolling new colonists; this was called *adscribere colonos.* Some colonies consisted of Roman citizens only; some, of Latins, and other natives of Italy. Most writers are of opinion that the Roman colonists had not the right of voting or bearing offices at Rome. The Latin and other Italian colonists were in a worse condition. The *coloniæ* differed from the *municipia* in this, that they used the laws prescribed to them by the Romans, but had almost the same kind of magis-

trates as the *municipia ;* whereas the *municipia* had their own laws.

[77] *Pòst aliquanto.*] "Some time after." So Cic. Orat. 3. Catil. c. 5.—Thus we meet also *pòst paullo, antè multo,* and the like.

[78] *Fortè temere.*] "That at all hazards he would march his army up the mountains, that were opposite them. That rash act turned to advantage through the cowardice of the enemy."—See B. 1. c. 27. n.—B. 3. c. 18.

[79] *Adversas valles.*] In Walker's edition, and most others, it is said that the words should be, *aversas valles,* "the valleys which lay, *à tergo,* behind them;" for that the front of the camp was towards the Romans, and in a direction opposite the valleys. But I think that *adversas* is fully intelligible. It is said the position was a hill, and a very secure one, *munitissimis locis ;* no mention is made of its being fortified by art ; it must then be fortified by nature. *Loco summè munito,* is used by Sallust to signify a place admirably secured by nature ; so that we must imagine it to be a steep hill surrounded on all sides by precipices and valleys. Now, when the Romans had gained possession of the hill, the Æqui were so astounded at the desperate boldness of the act, that they dashed down the precipices in different directions into the valleys, that were "opposite" or "before" them as they fled, in order to save themselves. We cannot suppose that in their consternation they all took one direction ; therefore he uses the word *valles,* "valleys," which word must embrace more directions than one. But if he meant that they all took "one" way, *i. e.* on the "rear" of the camp down to the low ground, he would probably have used the singular, *vallem ;* as how, on one side, could there be more valleys than one ? Or the word *adversas* may be taken, as it often is, to signify an opposite direction to the Romans, and this would amount to what *aversas* would signify: *adversas* is the reading of the MSS., and therefore individual authority is not enough to change it.

[80] *Ubi satìs prædæ.*] In Walker's edition and others, it is said that the reading should be *ibi,* as the word alludes to the camp, and not to the valleys. This alteration appears unnecessary. *Ibi* very often is considered rather as an adverb of time and circumstances, than of place, signifying "thereupon, then, &c." We have instances of it, ch. 20, *ibi* (then) *alia—coorta pugna ;* ch. 35, *ibi ira est suppressa,* and several other places ; so *ubi,* which is here the reading of almost all MSS., and is the relative of *ibi,* often implies time and circumstance rather than place, and signifies (as here) "whereupon," "on which occasion," or "by which means."—See Facciolati's Lexicon, *Omnis Latinitatis.* The reading of most MSS. and old copies is, *ubi satìs prædæ ex victoriâ, &c. i. e.* says Drakenborch, considering their bloodless victory, they got booty enough.

[81] *Tantâ quum gratiâ, tum arte præparaverant fœneratores, quæ ......frustrarentur.*] "With so much influence and art had the usurers concerted measures, that defeated——." The usurers were chiefly patricians, and that is the reason why he says plebeians and patricians were still anxious about the result of their private concerns, *i. e.* the subject of debts.

[82] *Actionum in senatu primam habuit.*] "Of all his public acts in the senate, he made that, in favour of the victorious people, the first; and proposed the question, what would they wish should be done to the condemned debtors?" Any act or measure of a magistrate, before the senate or people, is called *actio*. *De nexis* would be a better reading. However the preposition is elsewhere omitted in such a case. So B. 27. c. 16, *interroganti scribæ quod fieri signis vellet.*

[83] *Me dius fidius.*] There are various explanations for these words. Some say *dius* is *deo* (*i. e. Jove*) *ortus* scil. Hercules; and *fidius* is *fidei præses*, and that the phrase is elliptical; thus *ita me dius fidius* (scil. *deo ortus Hercules fidei præses*) *juvet.* Others say *me* is the same as *μὰ*, *per*, and *dius fidius* is *dei filius*, scil. Hercules, as the ancients often used *d* for *l*—Thus the phrase would mean *per dei (Jovis) filium*, scil. *Herculem.* So we find *me Hercule, me Castor.*

[84] *Mei similes.*] See B. 3. c. 41. n.

[85] *Seditioni interero.*] "I shall witness sedition rather as a private individual."

[86] *Apparuit causa plebi.*] "The cause was evident to the people;" *i. e.* that he resigned his office through indignation at the wretched condition they were reduced to by the tyranny of the patricians. Most of the old copies read *plebis.*

CHAP. XXXII.—[87] *In consulum verba jurâssent.*] See c. 24. n

[88] *Per causam.*] "Under the pretext." *Causari* means "to allege as an excuse, or pretext."—See B. 3. c. 64.

[89] *Nullam ... religionem exsolvi.*] "That no religious obligation is dissolved." *Nullâ religione exsolvi*, "to be released from no religious obligation," is another way of expressing this sentiment. So *solvere obsidionem* and *obsidione* are the same.—See B. 44. c. 30.

[90] *Sacrum montem.*] So called because the people, on their return to the city, dedicated it to Jupiter. See a full account of this event in Dionysius, B. 6. p. 375, who coincides with Livy, as also Plut. in Vit. Coriol., and Appian Alex. in Hannib.

[91] *Piso auctor est, in Aventinum.*] Sallust adopts this opinion, Bell. Jug. c. 31, and says, that the people retired to it twice, *i. e.* at this time, and after the death of Virginia.—See B. 3. c. 50.

[92] *Relicta ab suis plebes.*] "The part of the people who were left behind in the city by their friends." *Residem*, "who remained peaceably."

[94] *Per æqua, per iniqua.*] "That that unanimity should be restored to the state on any terms, fair or foul;" whether the demands of the people were reasonable or unreasonable, they should be granted.

[95] *Menenium Agrippam.*] More correctly, *Agrippam Menenium*, as Agrippa is the *prænomen.*—See next ch.—So B. 3. c. 1, Quintus Fabius is called Fab. Quintus. So also in this book, ch. 35, Tullus Attius is called Att. Tullus. So B. 4. c. 22, Licinius Macer is called Macer Licinius.

[96] *Indè oriundus.*] "Descended from them." He had been consul; see ch. 16; Dionysius, B. 5. c. 44; and, as the consulship at this time was open to patricians only, we must suppose him to be descended from the plebeian order only by the mother, and to be a patrician by the father; or that he was one of those whom Brutus, ch. 1, is said to have elected into the senate.—See notes on that ch. Nine other deputies from the senate attended him.

[97] *Horrido.*] "Unpolished." So Hor. Ep. 1. B. 2. 157, *horridus ille defluxit numerus Saturnius.* So Cicero, *horrida verba; horrida oratio.*

[98] *Omnia in unum consentiebant.*] "All the members agreed together."

[99] *Dum ventrem.*] When *dum* indicates any action in the present tense, it always requires an indicative mood; therefore we should read rather *cùm.*

[1] *Nec magìs ali, quàm alere eum.*] "And that it does not receive nourishment more than it gives it, by sending to all parts of the body that blood, from which we derive life and vigour, distributed evenly through the veins, when brought to maturity by the digestion of food."

[2] *Quàm ...... similis.*] "How very like."

CHAP. XXXIII.—[3] *Tribuni plebei.*] So called because they were chosen from the tribunes of the soldiers, according to Varro, *de Linguâ Lat.* B. 4. 14. *Plebei*, the genitive from *plebes.* The tribunes of the soldiers were so called, because they were persons who originally commanded the three tribes in the time of Romulus. There were three to each tribe during the war. Afterwards èach legion had usually six.

[4] *Tres collegas sibi creaverunt.*] This may signify that these two presided over an assembly of the people, where the other three were then elected. The words *creare magistratum* are applied to one who presides at an election for a magistrate.—See B. 25. c. 41.—B. 28. c. 10, *et alibi.* This explanation is supported by the testimony of Dionysius, who asserts that there were five tribunes of the people elected at the *comitia curiata*, (see ch. 58) namely, L. Junius, C. Sicinius, C. and P. Licinius, Sp. Icilius Ruga.—The names here in Livy vary from those in other authors also. Drakenborch has a long and perplexing

dissertation about them. There were also two ædiles of the people created at this time to serve and assist the tribunes.

[5] *Duos tantùm in sacro monte creatos.*] And that the remaining three were elected in the city, after the people returned.

[6] *Sacratam legem.*] "Devoting law." A *lex sacrata* meant in general any law, the violation of which was punished by devoting the violator, with his family and property, to some god. There were many such laws. It was by virtue of one of them that the tribunes were sacred and inviolable, *sacrosancti.*—There is mention made of them several times in Livy.—See B. 3. c. 32.—B. 4. c. 26.—B. 7. c. 41. See also B. 2. c. 8. n.

[7] *Per secessionem.*] Dionysius says this lasted three months. They retired about the first of September, and returned about the first of December.

[8] *Sp. Cassius et Postumius Cominius.*] Glareanus observes that we should read here *iterum,* as these were consuls before.

[9] *Indè Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit.*] "After that he took Polusca, which also belonged to the Volsci."—See ch. 39. Several old copies and MSS. read *indè protinùs Mucamitem* (some, *Ulscamitem;* some, *Novocamitem*) *Volscorum cepit.*

[10] *Cædeque in proxima urbis factâ.*] Rhenanus, Walker, and Doujatius, say the words mean, that the slaughter of the citizens, who sallied out, was not only carried to the gates, but even to the parts of the city which were near the gates. This appears to me a strange interpretation. In note 32. ch. 14, it is seen that the accusative after the preposition *in,* in imitation of the Greeks, who often used εἰς for ἐν, has sometimes the same signification as the ablative; hence some, in a passage higher up, read *in stationem Marcius fuit.* So here, *in proxima urbis* means "in the parts of the city which were next the gate." He pursued them into the city, and there, where it is natural to think they faced about to make resistance, they were slaughtered. *In proximâ urbe* is the reading of some copies and MSS., *i. e. in primâ urbe, primâ* signifying "the first part of." One MS. has *in proximâ parte urbis,* which makes all quite plain.

[11] *Primo ortu.*] *Ad terrorem (ut solet) primum ortûs* is considered the most correct reading. Rhenanus says *primo ortu* means *statim.*

[12] *Obstitit.*] "Eclipsed or weighed down." This verb properly means to stand in the way of any thing so effectually as to impede its progress, and render it nugatory; hence to counterbalance.—See B. 1. c. 26. n.—B. 2. c. 2. n.

[13] *Ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega abfuerat, ictum.*] *Quia* here explains *uno.* Cominius at this time was among the Volscians. The inscription on the column, it appears, contained only the name of Cassius. Were it not that the absence of the other consul on a military enterprise (except on such an occasion, the consul was never out of Rome in those times) was notified

by this omission of his name, it would be thought in after times that it was Coriolanus conducted the war, and not Cominius.

[14] *Interpreti.*] "Mediator."

[15] *Sextantibus in capita collatis.*] "Two ounces of brass being collected from each person." *Sextans* was the sixth part of an *as*, or, pound weight of brass.

Chap. XXXIV.—[16] *Clausis.*] "When people are besieged.

[17] *Quæsitum in Siciliam quoque.*] "But despatched into Sicily also to look for it." *In Siciliâ* is the reading of some copies.

[18] *Frumentum . . . . coëmptum.*] *Coëmere* means to buy from several, or in several places, and, when so bought, to collect together.

[19] *Pomptino.*] Scil. *campo ;* qu. *Pometino*, from Suessa Pometia, the capital city.

[20] *Remisisset.*] Scil. *se*, "abated."

[21] *Velitris.*] A colony was planted there before.—See c. 31.

[22] *Norbæ.*] Walker explains this by *in Norbâ*. It may however be simply rendered "into the mountains of Norba."

[23] *Quæ arx.*] "Which might serve as a barrier or fortification in the Pometian territory."

[24] *M. Minucio et A. Sempronio coss.*] We should read *iterum* here. But once for all be it observed, that, until after the expulsion of the Decemviri, Livy often omits to mention the number of consulships that one or other of the party named may have filled, (if the MSS. be correct,) as ch. 21, 33, 34, 41, 43, 48, 49, 54, 61, 64.—B. 3. c. 1. 2, 15, 25. In all of which *iterum* or *tertiùm* should be used.

[25] *Quanti . . daretur.*] "At what price it should be given or sold."

[26] *Sub jugum missus.*] He speaks figuratively, *i. e.* being obliged to submit to such humiliating terms as the patricians were obliged to submit to.—See B. 3. c. 28. He compares the plebeians to robbers, from whom the patricians were, as it were, forced to ransom themselves by acceding to their demands.

[27] *Qui non tulerim.*] "Who would not have submitted to—." Some imagine that he here speaks in his own character; others, that he speaks as the representative of the whole patrician order. Plutarch says that his first campaign, while a youth, (ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν,) was at lake Regillus, *i. e.* according to Livy, (c. 19,) in the year 255 of the city, ten years after the expulsion of the kings ; but according to Dionysius, (B. 6, Antiq.) in the year 258. At that time he could be no more than eighteen years old ; so that he was a mere child in the time of Tarquin ; and therefore, *non tulerim* cannot, as some think, mean "have not submitted to," or "did not submit to."

[28] *Tertio anno.*] Three years before.

[29] *Utantur annonâ.*] *i. e.* Let them reap the fruits of their own madness. The lands were left uncultivated in consequence of their sedition

[30] *Haud tam facile dictu est, faciendumne fuerit.*] "It is not so easy to say whether this thing 'ought' to have been done, as I am of opinion it could have been done, namely, that the patricians, on condition of reducing the price of provisions, might have freed themselves from the tribunician power, and all the laws imposed upon them against their will."

CHAP. XXXV.—[31] *Fame se jam, sicut hostes, peti.*] "That they were assailed by the patricians with famine, as if they were public enemies."

[32] *Nisi de tergo . . . . . satisfiat.*] "Unless corporal punishment were inflicted on (or satisfaction taken on the backs of) the Roman populace." The surrender of the tribunes, their only protectors, would lead to this. The words *de tergo* are used by Livy in several places to imply the punishment of flogging.—See c. 29, at the end; they are opposed to *caput,* which meant "beheading," or any punishment that took away life.

[33] *Carnificem.*] "Executioner." Coriolanus is meant.

[34] *Diem dixissent.*] "Appointed him a day to stand his trial." These words are often used by Livy to signify this.

[35] *Ibi.*] "Thereupon."—See c. 31. n. 80.

[36] *Auxilii.*] See B. 3. c. 30. n.

[37] *Plebisque.*] That they were elected to assist and protect the plebeians, not to punish the patricians.

[38] *Unius pœnâ defungendum esset.*] "That the patricians were obliged to escape danger by giving up one to punishment."—See a similar use of the verb, B. 4. c. 52. B. 3. c. 5;—ἀπαλλάττειν and ἀπαλλάττεσθαι are used in the same sense. The charge against Coriolanus was "treason."

[39] *Restiterunt tamen.*] "They made a stand, however, notwithstanding the public odium which was excited against them; and they all exerted as well the powers of the whole order, as, every individual, his own." *Adversâ invidiâ* is an abl. absolute, like *adversâ voluntate* before, B. 1. c. 46.

[40] *Quà—quà.*] Scil. *parte; usi viribus eâ tenus parte, quatenus possidebant vires,* is the way in which this ellipsis is filled up. The words are taken adverbially, and signify the same as *tum—tum,* "as well—as."

[41] *Disjicere rem.*] "To prevent or quash the business." So *disjicere consilium,* B. 25. c. 14.

[42] *Quicquid erat patrum, reos diceres.*] "You would say that all the patricians, that were in existence, were under impeachment." Thus Hor. B. 2. Sat. 6. *Lydorum quicquid.*—So also ch. 49. *Quicquid deorum.*—See B. 3. c. 17. *Quod* has often the same force.

[43] *Pro nocente donarent.*] "Make his pardon, as a guilty man, a present to themselves."—Pardon him, as if guilty, in compliment to themselves.—See the same use of the word, B. 8. c. 12, 35, and *condonare,* B. 3. c. 12, and in Cæsar, Bell. Gall. B. 1. c. 20.

[44] *Damnatus absens.*] Dionysius says that this sentence was passed by the *comitia tributa*, where the influence of the plebeians was predominant. But Livy makes no mention of the *comitia tributa* being held for twenty years after this time.—See ch. 56. Plutarch says he was present, when the sentence was passed.

[45] *Tulli.*] This is the *prænomen.*—See ch. 32. n. 95.

[46] *In exoleto jam vetustate odio.*] "As their hatred died away by time."

CHAP. XXXVI.—[47] *Ludi.*] *i. e.* Preparations were being made to revive the great games.—See B. 1. c. 35.

[48] *Ludis.*] "On the day of the games." *Ludis* is elsewhere found to mean the time or day for celebrating games.—So B. 32, c. 26.—B. 34. c. 44.—B. 39. c. 7. Cic. de Harusp. c. 12; de Senect. c. 18.—B. 10. ad. famil. ep. 32. So Cicero uses *gladiatoribus,* "On the day of the gladiators' shows." So also Livy uses *Latinis (feriis,* scil.) for "the time" of celebrating the Latin holidays. —See B. 32. c. 1.—B. 44. c. 22.

[49] *Nondum commisso spectaculo.*] "The show being not yet commenced." *Committo* is the word used in expressing the celebration of a show of gladiators, which was termed *ludus. Committere* is applied to a fight of any kind.

[50] *Furcâ.*] This was a piece of wood like a fork, which slaves were obliged to carry about on their necks, and were thence called *furciferi,* as a token of their having committed some disgraceful act. The malefactor's neck was thrust into it, and the prongs of it hung down his body, and were tied to his arms.

[51] *Sibi ludis præsultatorem displicuisse.*] *Ludis,* "on the day of the games." It was usual to commence these games, and certain processions, such as those of the Salii, by the exhibition of a sort of dancer, called *præsultator, præsultor,* or *præsul.* Here the name is ironically given to the flogged slave.

[52] *Timorem vicit.*] "His reverence for the dignity of the magistrates, lest he might be in the mouths of all men as a subject for ridicule, conquered his religious fears." *Verecundia,* when followed by a genitive, means "respect or reverence for." —See B. 1. c. 3. n.—B. 4. c. 45. n.—B. 6. c. 33. *In ora hominum abiret.* So, Hor. B. 1. Ep. 3. 9. *Quid Titius Romana brevi venturus in ora.*

[53] *Magno—stetit.*] "Cost him dearly;" lit. stood him in a high price.—So B. 34. c. 50. *Polybius scribit centum talentis eam rem Achæis stetisse.*—Hor. Sat. 2, *magno stet pretio.*—So, Livy, B. 3. c. 60, *magno detrimento certamen staturum.*

[54] *Ægro animi.*] "While troubled in mind."

[55] *Præsentior res erat.*] "The thing was brought more home to him." Was rendered more undeniable. *Præsens* is applied to what furnishes immediate and direct proof. He before thought the danger remote and contingent, but he now found it certain and at his door. He was seized with paralysis.

[56] *Cunctantem.*] "Hesitating;" *prolatantem,* "procrastinating."

[57] *Repræsentatas.*] "Speedily fulfilled." This word is applied to things which are not deferred, but put into execution at once. —So, Cic. Phil. 2, peroration, *ego corpus libenter obtulerim, si repræsentari morte meâ libertas civitatis posset. Repræsentare pretium* means "to pay down the price of a thing at once." So, *repræsentare pœnam,* "to punish at once;" *repræsentare præmium,* "to reward at once."

CHAP. XXXVII.—[58] *Sequius.*] "What may stigmatize." This is the same as *deterius. Secus* is used in somewhat a similar sense, and sometimes means *non bene.*—See B. 8. c. 33.— Tacit. An. 2. 50. In *sequior, sequius, secius,* the *e* is long; in *secus* it is short. There are various corrupt readings to be found in the MSS. and old copies; as, *secus jus, sequi jus, sequi vis, sævius, &c.*

[59] *Admissum ab iis criminatum.*] "To accuse them of any crime already committed by them; but to take care, &c.;" or, perhaps, "to caution them, &c." When *admitto* means "to commit a crime," *in se, in te,* or *in me,* according to the person of the agent, is generally connected with the verb.

[60] *Sabinorum.*] See ch. 18. B. 2.

[61] *Ne cujus.*] "Lest I may be tainted with the suspicion of any word or act, if I remain here." Lest any word or act may taint my character and thereby injure me in your estimation.

[62] *Ut urbe excederent Volsci.*] "That the Volsci should leave the city;" *urbem excederent,* is another and very general reading, *i. e. extra urbem excederent.* So, B. 3. c. 41, *ultra vocem excessisset. Egredi* is also found often with an accusative, which is explained in the same way.—So B. 3. c. 57, *urbem egrederentur.* So is *elabi, evadere,* and most verbs compounded with *e* or *ex.*— See B. 1. c. 56. n. 39.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—[63] *Caput Ferentinum.*] The fountain of Ferentina.—See B. 1. c. 50 and 51.

[64] *Et eos ipsos.*] "Led both those themselves, who anxiously listened to words that favoured their resentment, and through them the rest of the multitude, into a field that lay near the road."

[65] *Orationem exorsus, "Veteres populi, &c."*] Gronovius thinks the proper reading is *oratione exorsus veteres pop. Rom. injurias, cladesque gentis Volscorum.* And he imagines that the words of Tullus commence at *ut omnia.* But Walker imagines that the abrupt and elliptical style, as the words stand, is well adapted to an exasperated mind; he says *ut obliviscamini* is understood before *veteres injurias.* According to the reading of Gronovius, *oratione exorsus* means "having prefaced his address with a detail of." Duker would read *orationem exorsus in veteres, &c.* as (c. 56,) *in accusationem Appii . . . . exorsus,* scil. *orationem exorsus.* Drakenborch says that, by reading *ut* before *veteres,* the sentence will be quite simple. Certainly the repetition of such words is

quite common; so B. 4. c. 4, *ut hominum, ut civium, numero simus.* Various other corrections and explanations of the passage are proposed.

[66] *Quâ.*] "With which they commenced their games by visiting us with ignominy." Gronovius and Crevier would prefer *qui,* scil. *Romani,* as (c. 18,) *qui, si maximè ex eâ familiâ.*

[67] *Traductos per ora hominum.*] He uses this form of expression to rouse them the more, as it was properly applied to captives, who were led in triumph before the face of the people.

[68] *Piaculum merituri.*] "And do what would deserve an expiation on our part." The expiation or atonement to the gods should be made, not by the Romans, but the offending Volscians. *Mereor* often means "to earn," "to deserve by his conduct any evil to one's self;" *in malam sæpe sumitur partem,* say the grammarians. So in English we say "to earn or deserve a curse, misery, punishment, &c."

[69] *Non fuga.*] "And not a flight" from our enemies, as it ought rather be called

[70] *Et incitati.*] "And incited by Tullus."

CHAP. XXXIX.—[71] *Quam spem nequaquam fefellit.*] Sigonius and others would read *quæ spes;* this form of expression is equally classical.

[72] *Transgressus.*] He did not march towards Rome in a direct line, but turned across the country to the Latin road.

[73] *Novella hæc.*] "These newly-acquired possessions."—See ch. 33. The common reading makes this *Novella,* a town; thus, *Novellam, hæc Romanis, &c.* The elder Gronovius would read *Bovillas, hæc, &c.;* the younger, *Mugillam, hæc, &c.*

[74] *Recepit.*] Drakenborch and Doujatius say that this means, "took under his protection;" for, as Lavinium was never subject to the Volscians, the word cannot mean, as it generally does, "retook or recovered." But, says Walker, may not the word here, as elsewhere, mean simply "made himself master of?" It is taken in this sense, B. 3. c. 29, *castris hostium receptis.* Lavinium was subject to the Romans. Some verbs compounded with *re* are, no doubt, often taken for their simples, as Sall. Jug. Preface, *nunc ad inceptum redeo.* So, Cæs. Bell. Gall. *Labienus civitatem recepit.* Dionysius and Plutarch say he only besieged it.

[75] *Cluilias.*] See B. 1. c. 33.

[76] *Id modò non conveniebat.*] "In this point alone they did not agree, that the senate, &c." Most copies and MSS. have *sicut aliàs* after *modó.*

[77] *Sp. Nautius.*] Dionysius mentions two pairs of consuls before these. In the year 264, when the games were disapproved of by the gods (see c. 36.) he says Q. Sulpicius and Sp. Lartius were consuls; and in the following year, when they were renewed, he mentions C. Julius and P. Pinarius; and it appears that Livy himself, B. 3. c. 30, has taken these into acccount.

[78] *Stationes.*] These were a kind of out-posts, or guards, placed before the gates.—See B. 4. c. 40. *Vigiliæ* were held within the camp at night. *Excubiæ* were watches either by day or night. *Custodiæ* or *præsidia,* guards on the ramparts.—See B. 3. c. 5.

[79] *Traditum est ; nihilo magìs.*] Gronovius would read *traditum* (scil. *traditum est ;*) *et nihilo magìs, &c.* This would make the sentence somewhat more simple, though there are many instances of the present reading.

CHAP. XL.—[80] *Id publicum consilium.*] Dionysius, B. 8, says that this measure was recommended by Valeria, the sister of Publicola. Plutarch says that his wife's name was Virgilia. *An* is understood to *id.* So also farther down at *ad hostem, an ad filium.*

[81] *In primo.*] "In the beginning ;" so, *à primo* means "from the beginning."—Cic. Att. 8. 11. Some old copies read *primó.*

[82] *Prope ut amens, consternatus.*] "Confounded, almost like one who had lost his reason."

[83] *Sine ...... sciam.*] "Let me know ;" *i. e. sine me ut sciam.*

[84] *Non . . . . . succurrit.*] "Did not this thought occur to you ?"

[85] *Sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius, quàm mihi miserius, possum.*] "But I can now suffer nothing, that will not bring more disgrace on you, than misery on me ; nor, though I am now most miserable, am I likely to be long so." She alludes, in consequence of her old age, to the speedy prospect of death. *De his videris,* "look to these ;" *i. e.* your wife and children. *Nec tibi turpius, nec mihi miserius* is another reading of the passage.

[86] *Invidiâ rei oppressum.*] "That he was murdered by the Volscians on account of the odium excited against him by this act.

[87] *Alii alio leto.*] "Different authors say that he died by a different kind of death." Cicero (in Bruto, c. 10,) says, that, like his cotemporary Themistocles, he died by his own hand.

[88] *Fabium.*] See B. 1. c. 44.

[89] *Monumento quoque.*] *i. e.* The men were not only lavish of their praises of the women, but even dedicated a temple to female fortune, as a lasting monument of their meritorious conduct. Gronovius proposes *que* for *quoque,* which certainly is a more natural expression here ; unless, according to some commentators, we believe that some words have fallen out of the text, which are to be found in Cujatius, B. 12. c. 24, purporting that the women were thenceforward to wear purple robes and golden necklaces, and that the men were to leave the way for them if they met them. This is asserted by Valer. Max. B. 5. c. 2. But it is not mentioned by Dionysius or Plutarch. This temple, says Valer. Max., (B. 1. c. 8.—B. 5. c. 2,) was built on the spot where the women had the successful interview with Coriolanus ; no one but a woman, who was only once married, could touch the statue.

[90] *Volsci Æquine.*] "Whether it should be the Volsci or the Æqui that would appoint a commander over their united army."

[91] *Fortuna populi.*] He elegantly represents the good fortune of Rome as the agent of their destruction. Let not the young reader imagine that the Romans attacked them.

[92] *Hernici provincia evenit.*] "The Hernici fell to Aquillius as his province." Many such phrases occur in Livy.

[93] *Cum Volscis æquo Marte discessum est.*] There is an ellipsis here; *i. e. ex prælio cum Volscis.* This may be literally translated thus, "they parted with the Volsci on even terms, or with equal advantage on both sides."—Dionysius (B. 8,) says that Sicinius gained a signal victory over the Volsci; that their leader Attius Tullus fell in the battle; and that Sicinius obtained the honours of a triumph; whereas Aquillius enjoyed only an ovation.

CHAP. XLI.—[94] *Agri duæ partes.*] "Two thirds of the captured land were taken away; the other third was given back to the Hernici, which is a charge brought soon after by his colleague against Cassius.

[95] *Sed et publica Patribus.*] "Apprehension for the public safety also seized the fathers."

[96] *Fastidire munus vulgatum à civibus ísse in socios.*] "Who felt disgusted that his gift should have gone from the citizens to the allies, having thus become common and contemptible." Some editions for *ísse,* read *esse;* some, *egisse.* Gronovius thinks the word *ísse* should be expunged. Walker proposes to read the passage thus: *fastidire munus vulgatum; à civibus îsse in socios.* Drakenborch thinks that *sese* should be read for *esse, i. e. à civibus sese,* "from themselves who were citizens." He says very truly, that there are numberless instances of this transposition of letters.

[97] *Quid . . . attinuisse reddi.*] "What purpose could it serve to restore, &c." *Attinet* often means "to contribute to a purpose, to be necessary."—See B. 3. c. 36.

[98] *Ambitiosus in socios.*] "Anxious to be popular with the allies."

[99] *Siculo frumento.*] See ch. 34.

[1] *Peculium.*] This properly means the private property, which a slave possesses with the consent of his master; and, as a father at this time had the power of life and death over his children, who were in a state of absolute slavery to him, their property was called *peculium.* But the word is often taken in a wider sense to signify in general the property of a father of a family. It may be observed that *familia* sometimes means one's whole property; so, *familia* in an after passage must be used in the same sense as *peculium* here.

[2] *Signum indè factum esse.*] *Romæ simulachrum ex ære factum Cereri primum reperio ex peculio Sp. Cassii.*—Plin. Hist. Nat. B. 34. c. 4.

[3] *Propiùs fidem.*] "More credible." *Fidem,* say the commentators, is governed by *ad,* understood. So, ch. 40, *proximè formam latrocinii. Propiùs* and *proximè* are often thus joined to an accusative.

[4] *K.*] *Kæsone* for *Cæsone.* K. is the ancient abbreviation for this *prænomen.* This is the first mention of quæstors we find in Livy. Tacitus (Annal. B. 11. c. 22,) says that there were quæstors under the kings, and that they were continued by Brutus and the following consuls.

[5] *Diem dictam perduellionis.*] "That a day of trial for treason was appointed him." So Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5, *diem his P. Rutilius tribunus plebis perduellionis ad populum dixit.—Diem dicere* is often used to mean "to appoint a day of trial."—See B. 1. c. 26. n. 96. 2.

CHAP. XLII.—[6] *Malignitate.*] "Parsimony." This is the sense in which this word is generally used in Livy.—See B. 3. c. 63.—B. 5. c. 20. 22.—B. 2. c. 3.

[7] *Redegit in publicum.*] Lodged the price of it in the public treasury; reduced it to public property.

[8] *Tenuêre.*] This verb, like *obtineo,* often means, in Livy, "to succeed, to carry one's point."

[9] *Postumio.*] See ch. 20.

[10] *Popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant.*] Their power and office, which of themselves were agreeable to the people, they were every day recommending more to their favour by this law.—See B. 3. c. 31. n.

[11] *Gratuiti.*] Voluntary or gratuitous.

[12] *Fabium.*] He was also the brother of Q. Fabius, who was consul three years before this.

[13] *Expertos tribuniciis certaminibus.*] *Expertos* here appears to mean not so much that during his consulships he was well practised or versed in the disputes with the tribunes—that his successive offices were one series of struggles with the tribunes, and of experience in these struggles—as that his "fidelity" to the cause of the patricians was "tried" and established.—See B. 1. c. 34, end.

[14] *Prope supererant vires.*] "They had almost a superabundance of strength."—See c. 27.

[15] *Accessêre ad ægras jam omnium mentes prodigia cœlestia.*] "In addition to the agitation of all men's minds, there appeared prodigies from heaven. These increased the general alarm."

[16] *Vates canebant . . . nunc extis, nunc per aves, consulti.*] The commentators are diffuse in talking of the intricacy of this passage, without giving any rational solution of it. In Walker's edition, and others, these words are thus explained, *consulti (vates) ut rescirent, per exta et per aves, quid dii vellent.* This appears rather a forced explanation; and, indeed, it is immediately after added, *quæritur an dici possint vates consuli extis, quum ipsi ex extis fata prædicunt.* Drakenborch thinks the

connexion should be, *numinis consulti nunc extis, &c.,* employing *consulti* in the sense of "being advised or directed, or answered." So Virg. Æn. 3. 452, *inconsulti abeunt, sedemque odêre Sibyllæ;* where *inconsulti* refers to the strangers who received no answer or counsel. In English the word "counselled" is applied to a person who receives an answer for his advice or direction. According to this explanation the meaning of the passage is, "the soothsayers being answered or directed by the gods, publicly and privately, (*i. e.* in their public and private sacrifices,) at one time by means of entrails, at another time through birds, declared that there was no other cause for the resentment of the divinity (*moti irâ numinis*) than, &c."

[17] *Eò evasêre.*] "Went so far." Although the soothsayers declared that the sole cause of the anger of the deity was, that the sacred rites were not properly performed, from which was to be inferred, that the immorality of individuals had no connexion with it; *yet* the people, not satisfied with this, were carried so far by their fears, that they punished Oppia for an alleged violation of chastity, under the impression that this might have contributed to the anger of the gods. Such appears to be the force of *tamen.* The punishment was, burying alive.

CHAP. XLIII.—[18] *Vejentes agrum quoque.*] Aldus was the first to introduce this reading. The reading previously used was, *Vejentesquoque agrum,* which, in my opinion, is the more natural one.

[19] *Non suâ sponte.*] "Not of their own accord," but by the agency of Licinius.

[20] *Tota invidia tribuniciæ potestatis.*] "All the odium, raised against the tribunician power, was now directed against (Licinius,) the author of this turbulent opposition."

[21] *Ducendus Fabio in Æquos, in Vejentes Furio, datur.*] This reading, which was first established by Sigonius, on the authority of one or two ancient copies, preserves a consistency in Livy's statement; for he says in the next chapter, *Proximo bello, in ipsâ acie, consensu exercitûs, traditam ultro victoriam victis Æquis.* The old reading of almost all the MSS. and printed copies, viz. *Fabio in Vejentes, in Æquos Furio, datur,* destroyed this consistency.

[22] *Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio ducis, suum saltem flagitium... cogere potuit.*] "Nor, although the exhortation of their general, whom they hated, had no effect on them, (which was not to be wondered at) could their own infamy at least, (which might have been expected) and the public disgrace at present, and danger soon after, if the enemy would have rallied their courage, compel them to accelerate their pace, or, if they did nothing else, even stand in order of battle."

[23] *Instare.*] This means "to stand in the same place;" as *immunire* means "to fortify in the same place," Tac. An. 11. 19; and *incœnare,* "to sup in the same place," Suet. Tib. 39—Muretus and Crevier think the reading should be *stare.*

CHAP. XLIV.—[24] *Ti.*] This always stands for Tiberius.

[25] *Processisset.*] "As if it had succeeded with." This word has frequently this signification in Livy, and other authors. So Sall. Jug. 35, *parum procedere* means, "to have little success." *Cedere* too is often used in the same sense.

[26] *In præsentia re ipsâ.*] "For the present by the very act (*i. e.* by the defeat of Licinius the year before) and to all future times by the precedent which was thereby established," *i. e.* when the patricians had once found that the tribunician power could be defeated, they would always have recourse to the same method of defeating it. *Reipublicæ* is the reading of most old copies and MSS. in place of *re ipsâ.*

[27] *Bono publico.*] "By promoting the public good."

[28] *Ut cuique privatim aliquid juris adversùs singulos erat.*] "According as each had in his personal capacity any influence with them individually." *Jus* often signifies "power or influence;" and *adversùs* does not always imply "hostile opposition or injury." So B. 5. c. 35, *adversùs Romanos nullum iis jus societatis amicitiæque erat;* see also Ter. And. 1. 1. 15.

[29] *Quatuorque tribunorum.*] In the MSS. and old editions, the reading was *novemque tribunorum,* which is quite incorrect, as at this time there were only five tribunes. Sigonius has well observed that the mistake arose from the inaccuracy of transcribing IV, V being written X, as it often was, through ignorance or carelessness.

[30] *Id unum venenum.*] *i. e.* Internal dissension.

[31] *Sustentatum.*] "Retarded in its progress."

[32] *Sisti.*] See ch. 29. n. 52.

[33] *Non parendi magistratibus morem.*] "That the custom of disobeying the magistrates, &c."

[34] *Multis invicem casibus victos victoresque.*] "Who by many vicissitudes were vanquished and victors by turns." Livy appears to mean, that they expected some decisive advantage now from the divisions of the Romans, especially as they were sometimes successful against them, even when united.

CHAP. XLV.—[35] *Ne rem committerent eó.*] "Lest they should bring the affair to a state of things where they would have two armies to fear at the same time." *i. e.* their own and the enemy's.

[36] *Aversi.*] "Keeping aloof from."—So Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 107, *aversus mercaturis.* Sometimes the preposition *à* is expressed; as, *Milites aversi à prælio.*—Cæs. Bell. Gall.

[37] *Dies—tempus.*] See B. 1. c. 56. n. 45. Supply *sperantes* or *dicentes alius alii.*

[38] *Remedium timoris.*] "An artifice to conceal their cowardice." This is the usual explanation of these words; and it accords with the context. But it is a question whether *remedium* can be taken to signify "a cloak, or stratagem of concealment;" its proper and ordinary meaning is "a remedy to cure any evil, or

prevent any bad consequences." May not the words then mean "a remedy to prevent the consequences of their cowardice," *i. e.* defeat and destruction?

[39] *Magìs non confidere, quàm non credere, militibus.*] *i. e.* "Rather distrusted the valour, than disbelieved the sincerity, of the soldiers." This appears to be the real and obvious meaning of these words; yet Nannius, Klockius, and Drakenborch, think—because Fabius, in the sequel of this chapter, is made to say: *ego istos posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem, isti fecerunt*—that it follows that *non confidere* means, "not to believe their inclination to fight;" and *non credere*, "not to trust their valour." But surely it does not appear that the enemy and the consuls must have necessarily said, or even thought, the same thing. The enemy say it was cowardice, the consul ascribes it to want of inclination on the part of the Romans. Each had his own motive for what he says.

[40] *Quà .... quà.*] "As well—as."

[41] *Haud ægrè .... pati.*] "Bore it quietly.'

[42] *Versare.*] "Agitated." This word is often confounded with *vexare*. Virg. Æn. 5, *pulsatque versatque Dareta.*

[43] *Nolle successum, non, &c.*] "They wished not success either to the consuls or the patricians." There are many similar instances of *non* after a negative.

[44] *Capita conferunt.*] "Put their heads together," as we say.

[45] *Retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas.*] "But this wish was to be restrained and concealed."

[46] *Animadversuros.*] "That they would inflict punishment on him as on an enemy."

[47] *Quo minùs consules.*] "In proportion as they believe the consuls less inclined for battle."

[48] *Ad ultimum seditionis.*] "That the thing would break out into the extreme of sedition;" *i. e.* into a desperate sedition.

[49] *Centurionum principes.*] *i. e.* The first centurions of the three lines, the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, of each legion. They were also called *principes ordinum*, or *primi ordines*, or *centuriones primorum ordinum.* The companies commanded by these chief centurions were called *honesti ordines;* see B. 3. c. 44; or, *honesta loca*, B. 42. c. 34.

[50] *Tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde.*] *Tergiversatur tamen Fabius deinde*, &c. was the reading of most of the old copies.

[51] *Ad crescentem tumultu jam metum seditionis.*] "As his colleague began to yield on account of the dread of sedition, that was now growing with the tumult." *Tumultum....metu* was the general reading of the old copies.—*Accrescente tumultu jam metu seditionis collegâ concedente,* was another reading authorized by several MSS., where some had a comma after *tumultu*, others, after *seditionis.* According to the present reading *ad* is used for *propter,* as it frequently is.

[52] *Ego istos.*] "I know that these soldiers can conquer the enemy; but, by their conduct, they themselves caused me not to be certain that they wished to do it."

[53] *Inter primores pugnæ flagitator.*] "Among the principal persons in calling for a battle.

[54] *Iratos invocat deos.*] "And imprecates on himself, should he deceive, the anger of Jove, Mars Gradivus, and the other gods." *Gradivus,* see B. 1. c. 20. n. 31.

[55] *In se quisque jurat.*] See B. 2. c. 24. n. 18.

[56] *Nunc armatis sibi quisque.*] "Now that they are under arms, they bid, every man of them, the enemy, who was so bold in tongue, to present himself before them." I am not certain whether the words, *sibi quisque,* may not mean that every Roman should have his man (as we say) among the enemy.

[57] *Etruscæque legiones.*] The Etrurian forces are called *legiones,* Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 4. *Legio* seems to be used generally for *exercitus.*—See B. 1. c. 30. n. 54.

CHAP. XLVI.—[58] *Majus quoque aliquod.*] "That some greater deed also was not to be despaired of, in such a state of irritated feeling, and on so doubtful an occasion." As the Romans before, when sure of success against the Æqui, gave up the advantage, it was not likely they would now hazard a battle, when they could not be certain of the successful issue of it, and were besides in such a state of discontent. Thus the enemy calculated on an easy victory.

[59] *Explicandi ordinis.*] *Explicandi ordines,* or *explicandis ordinibus,* would perhaps be a better reading. The first is proposed by Gronovius; the other, by Drakenborch.

[60] *Abjectis.*] "Rather thrown off at random, than aimed at the enemy

[61] *Pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, venerat.*] Though some editions read *ad manus,* and Livy, ch. 30, has, *ad manum venisset hostis,* yet *in manus* here is more correct; it is the reading of the MSS.; and the phrase, *in manus venire,* "to come to close engagement," is a very common one. Livy is very fond of varying his expressions, particularly prepositions. B. 6. ch. 8, *terroremque non in primam tantùm aciem, sed etiam ad subsidiarios, perlatum.*—B. 4. c. 56, *seu...in spem, seu ad iram, compulisset.* B. 7. c. 13, *ad bellum, non in exilium, missos.* B. 5. c. 7, *ut diversæ legiones, aliæ adversùs Capenatem, aliæ contra eruptionem oppidanorum, pugnarent.* B. 27. c. 50, *nunquam....aut senator quisquam à curiâ atque ab magistratibus abscessit, aut populus è foro.*

[62] *Principem.*] "Before the rest."

[63] *Præceps in vulnus abiit.*] When the Tuscan plucked out the sword, Fabius fell forward on his breast, where he received the wound. The word *abiit,* says Burman ad Quinctil. declam. 9. c. 5, is expressive of the force and quickness with which he fell. So, B. 1. c. 58, *prolapsaque in vulnus.* So, *cadere in vulnus,* Statius,

Thebaid, 4. 463. Homer usually describes his warriors as falling in the direction where the wound was received.

[64] *Injuratus.*] Dionysius, B. 9. p. 567, says that the consuls too took the oath.

[65] *Consuli tum K. Fabius.*] "Then Kæso Fabius says to the consul."

CHAP. XLVII.—[66] *In primum infestis hastis provolant.*] Livy often uses *primus* without a substantive, to signify "the front." *Infestus* is often applied to weapons; so we often find *infesta signa* also.

[67] *Ut ille.*] *i. e.* Manlius.

[68] *Vanior.*] "Thinner, or more empty." See Curtius, B. 4. c. 14. The primary signification of *vanus* is "empty." So B. 1. c. 8, *ne vana urbis magnitudo esset.*

[69] *Dum terunt.*] Others read *tererent,* which is incorrect.—See ch. 32. n. 99. *Cùm tererent* would be correct.

[70] *Missis ad consules nunciis, quo loco res essent.*] Sal. Bell. Cat. *nuncius in castra pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam.* B. 38. c. 1, *remissique nuncii ab eo ad principes...Athamaniam se venturum.*

[71] *Ad prætorium.*] "To the quarter where the general's tent was."

[72] *In ipsum consulem invadit.*] *Invadere* is often used with *in.*

[73] *Funera.*] Then he celebrates the two funerals of his colleague and his brother in regular succession, (*deinceps,*) or one after the other. The funeral of his colleague, as being a consul, was the first.

[74] *Idem laudator.*] Fabius pronounced the funeral oration, or eulogy, over both.

[75] *Imbiberat.*] "That determination which he had indelibly impressed on his mind."—See a similar use of the word in Cic. for Quinct. c. 6, and Act. pr. in Ver. c. 14, *et alibi.*

CHAP. XLVIII.—[76] *Neque bella.*] Hearne, Duker, and Crevier, say this should be *belli.*

[77] *Occuparent.*] *i. e.* Should be beforehand in conferring the favour themselves on the people.—See B. 1. c. 30. n. 64.

[78] *Verum esse.*] Scil. *æquum esse;* this word often has this meaning.—See B. 3. c. 40.—B. 32. c. 33.—B. 40. c. 16.—B. 35. c. 8.—Cæs. B. Gal. 4. 8.—Æn. 12. 696.—Hor. B. 1. Ep. 7. 98, *et alibi.*

[79] *Nimiâ gloriâ luxuriare.*] "That the once lively spirit of Kæso was sinking into indolence, and decaying through a surfeit of glory." Here *luxuriare* means "to run waste," "to become dissipated."

[80] *Depopulandum.*] *Depopulatum* is the more probable reading, which is proposed by Heumanus. Sigonius, on the authority of an old copy, would read *depopulabundus;* Gronovius and others approve of this. So, *populabundus* is used actively.—B. 3. c. 3.—B. 1. c. 16.—B. 2. c. 60.

[81] *Proximè formam.*] See c. 41. n. 3.

[82] *Eludentes.*] This word properly means to parry off or get rid of a blow in a gladiator's fight, which was called *ludus.*

[83] *Præsentia instabant, ut.*] "Were pressing on them at that very time, as, for instance, from the Æqui, &c."

[84] *Quòd nullo tempore negligi poterat, aut averti aliò sinebat.*] "Because they could not be neglected at any time (*i. e.* it would be unsafe not to mind them,) and they did not allow the Romans to turn off their attention to any other matter." Though perhaps this way of writing is not unusual in English, yet I apprehend it to be so in Latin. Mark the peculiarity of *averti* here; it is the same as *avertere se;* this is expressed by the middle voice in Greek. We often meet this idiom in Latin.

CHAP. XLIX.—[85] *Deposcant, hæc Volscos.*] Scil. *hæc deposcat Volscos, illa deposcat Æquos.*

[86] *Paludatus.*] "Dressed in his military costume."—See B. 1. c. 26. n. 92.

[87] *Egregius senatus.*] "Not one of whom would an honest senate at any time deem unworthy to be the leader of an army." Tanaquil, Faber, Dujatius, and Crevier, think that for *senatus* we should read *exercitus.* See Dionysius, B. 9. p. 581. Perizon. Animadver. Histor. c. 5. p. 194. Walker successfully maintains against Perizonius, that this number of the Fabian clan is correct. The Fabii were an original Roman family; here their connexion by blood and marriage in the remotest degree are included; they were not cut down by Tarquin, who only attacked the wealthiest; so it is not too much to say that the Fabii amounted to 306. Festus says that a body of 5000 clansmen or dependants accompanied them.

[88] *Propria.*] "One part belonging to themselves, composed of their relations and acquaintances." *Propria* is opposed to *publica,* which latter means those who had no private tie with the Fabii. Crevier joins *publica* with *solicitudine.*

[89] *Fortes . . . . felices.*] He very elegantly applies to them these expressions as he before applied the word *ducem;* for *virtus et felicitas* were words applied to the commanders of armies; to allies, subordinate officers, and soldiers *virtus et fides* were the words employed.

[90] *Infelici viâ dextro Jano portæ Carmentalis.*] This word *Janus* sometimes means an arch or arcade. Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. 2. 27, *transitiones perviæ Jani nominantur.* There was a celebrated one of these near the forum, where money-brokers assembled. Hence, Horace, Sat. 2. 3. 18, *postquam omnis res mea Janum ad medium fracta est.* Et. ep. 1. 54, *hoc Janus summus ab imo prodocet. Janus summus, medius, imus,* mean "the highest, middle, and lowest parts of it." The gate Carmentalis had two or three of these archways; the Fabii went through the right. Ovid, Fast. B. 2. v. 201.

Carmentis portæ dextro est via proxima Jano,
Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.

[91] *Populationibus.*] "The depredations were not long discontinued

[92] *Ordines introeunt.*] "While the lines following their colours are advancing to the ground." See B. 3. c. 38. n. Walker thinks *ordines* is the acc. case, and explains it thus : *dum Veientes introeunt ordines post signa*, i. e. *dum aciem dirigunt*. But he has given no instance of this most strange and unnatural use of the word *introeunt*, nor have I met with this use of it.

CHAP. L.—[93] *Majoris belli apparatu.*] For *majore belli apparatu*. So B. 1. c. 1, *majora initia rerum*, for *majorum initia rerum*.—B. 2. c. 51, *proximam pugnæ cladem*, for *proximæ pugnæ cladem ; hesternâ felicitate pugnæ*, for *hesternæ felicitate pugnæ*.—B. 28. c. 17, *consummata belli gloria*, for *consummati belli gloria*.

[94] *Ex opulentissimâ, ut tum res erant, Etruscâ civitate.*] So B. 1. c. 3, *florentem, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam civitatem*.

[95] *Ex re natum.*] "Suggested by present circumstances."

[96] *Quanquam rara hostium apparebant arma.*] *i. e.* The appearance of some scattered bodies of the enemy did not teach them caution.

[97] *Superâssent.*] "Had passed; left them behind."—So, Æn. 1. 244, *fontem superare Timavi*. Livy often uses the word in this sense

[98] *Et adversi et undique.*] "Both in front and on every side of them."

[99] *Tela accidebant.*] "Weapons were falling." So, Cæs. Bell. Gall. B. 3. c. 14, and 25, *tela acciderent : accedebant* was the reading of the MSS. and old copies.

[1] *Multitudinem.*] Scil. *insignem faciebat*.

[2] *Multiplicatis in arcto ordinibus.*] Because the lines of the Tuscans grew more numerous, as the space grew narrower. Robortellus, on the other hand, B. 2. annot. c. 30, says *multiplicatis* here means, not "more numerous," but "condensed," *densatis ;* to signify that the Tuscans, who before, when scattered, appeared few, now appeared numerous when wedged closely together. He says, *quo enim breviore in spatio cogitur acies, eo pauciores ordines esse, necesse est*

[3] *Inclinat.*] "They bend their force."

[4] *Eò, nisi corporibus armisque.*] "Towards that place they, exerting the force of their bodies and arms, and forming themselves into the shape of a wedge, burst a passage."

[5] *Vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Vejens in verticem collis evasisset.*] This passage exemplifies what I have noticed elsewhere, namely, that *ni* refers to a verb in a preceding clause in the indicative, as if that verb were in the subjunctive. *Jugum* means the sloping termination of a mountain, or one of those hillocks at its commencement, and is thereby distinguished from *vertex*. It properly meant "a yoke connecting oxen" and formed thus, , where the middle part, between eir necks,

was higher than the ring through which their necks were thrust. In the heroic ages the "draught" (as we say,) was on the head, not on the breast and shoulders, the trace or band coming round the forehead.

[6] *Fabii cæsi ad unum.*] *i. e.* Q. Fab. Vibulanus, son to M. Fab., who was consul ten years after.—See B. 3. c. 1. Dionysius thinks it very unlikely that he should be the only survivor. Walker imagines that the belief, that he was so, originated in the fact, that he was the only surviving son of the three brothers of consular rank, and that from him were descended the famous Fabii of after times.

[7] *Stirpem . . . futurum.*] "Who was the stock to propagate the Fabian family, and to prove even the greatest support, &c."

CHAP. LI.—[8] *Clades esset.*] Crevier thinks the word should be *est;* but this, Walker says, would destroy Livy's meaning, which is, that these entered on their consulship after the disaster happened. He says, *Livii verba innuunt Horatium et Menenium non ante consulatum iniisse, quàm clades hæc accepta fuit.* But surely Walker must have seen that Livy asserts, next ch., that Menenius was consul at that time.

[9] *Super bellum annonâ premente.*] "A scarcity of provisions distressing them in addition to the war."

[10] *Ad Spei sit æquo Marte.*] "At the temple of Hope," which was one mile from the city *Ædem* or *templum* is often suppressed. So, B. 1. c. 41, *ad Jovis Statoris.*—B. 2. c. 7, *ubi nunc Vicæpotæ est.*—B. 3. c. 48, *prope Cloacinæ; et alibi.* Dionysius, B. 9, says that the Romans were the conquering party here.

[11] *Parvo momento.*] "By but a trifling advantage." See B. 1. c. 47. n. 51.—B. 2. c. 7. n. 70.

[12] *Proximam pugnæ cladem.*] See c. 50. n. 93.

[13] *Velut ab arce Janiculi.*] From the Janiculum, as if it were their fortress.

[14] *Secuti deditâ operâ . . . præcipitavêre in insidias.*] "Pursuing some cattle which were intentionally driven out in every direction to decoy them, they fell into an ambuscade." *Præcipitare* is sometimes used in this sense. See B. 5. 18.—B. 6. 30. So Plaut. Trinumm. 2. l. 30.

——— qui in amorem
Præcipitavit, pejùs perit, quàm si saxo saliat.

[15] *Plures.*] More numerous than the Fabii.

[16] *Quòd inopia frumenti, quamvis in præcipitia, &c.*] "Because want of provisions drove him to adopt plans, however rash, provided they were expeditious, he marched his army, at all hazards, up the Janiculum, which lay opposite to him."—See ch. 31. n. 79. It would appear from this, that the Janiculum at this time was detached from the city. Dionysius expressly states, that it was two miles from it; and when Livy, B. 1. c. 33, says, that Ancus added it to the city, we must only suppose that he merely fortified it, or drew a line of communication between it and the

city, and made some of the citizens reside there. This passage is very inaccurately given in most MSS. and editions—some reject *in;* and others, in addition to this, read *agebant.*

[17] *Occidione occisi.*] "Were slain with great slaughter." Were cut to pieces.—This expression is used elsewhere. See B. 3. c. 10,—B. 4. 58,—B. 9. 38. Justin, B. 2. c. 14.

CHAP. LII.—[18] *Laxior.*] "More plentiful," in opposition to *arctior,* which is used to signify scarcity.

[19] *Eum oppresserunt.*] *Ea* (scil. *invidia*) *oppressit Menenium,* is the reading preferred by Gronovius. Before him this was the punctuation, *eum oppresserunt ; quum . . . . . . favor haud dum exolevisset. In mulctâ temperârunt tribuni.—Haud dum* the same as *nondum,* as B. 28. c. 2.—B. 29. c. 11.

[20] *Temperârunt in mulctâ.*] "Acted with moderation, by only inflicting a fine."

[21] *Capitis anquisîssent.*] "Though they prosecuted him for a capital offence, when he was found guilty, they only imposed a fine of 2000 *asses,*" *i. e.* about £5. *Capitis anquirere,* i. e. *actionem capitalem intendere,* Budæus. The words are used elsewhere in this sense, B. 6. c. 20.—B. 8. c. 33.—B. 26. c. 3.—*Capitis quæsissent, ante quæsissent, acquisîssent, accercîsset,* and *accessissent,* have been the corrupt readings of almost all MSS. and old copies; *mulctam dixerunt* and *edixerunt,* were the general readings of the old copies. *Dicere mulctam* is the phrase used to mean "to impose or appoint a fine."

[22] *In caput vertit.*] "This proved fatal to him."

[23] *Negant tulisse.*] "They say that he was unable to bear."

[24] *Gratiæque.*] "And his popularity." Crevier says that this word is improperly introduced, as it is ill suited to a man who in peace opposed the Agrarian law, and in war was guilty of misconduct.

[25] *Et huic.*] *i. e.* As Menenius was charged with the loss sustained at Cremera.

[26] *Magistratus . . . . . . leges.*] The tribunes of the people, and the laws they were the means of introducing.

[27] *Participando laudes.*] By attributing to him a share of the glory which he gained by conquering the Tuscans.

[28] *Mutaverant animum.*] *Mutaverant animi* would be more in Livy's style.

CHAP. LIII.—[29] *Vejens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma conjunxerant.*] *Quibus,* scil. *Veientibus.* Let the young reader observe this peculiarity of expression

[30] *Dum dispersi alii aliâ manipulatim excurrunt.*] They did not sally out in a body through one gate, but, scattered in small parties, rushed out through several. Rhenanus, on the authority of some MSS., first introduced this reading, which is since adopted. Before him the reading most adopted was, *dum dispersi alii, alii, &c.*

[31] *Aversi.*] They were diverted from their attack on the camp,

and obliged to face the Veientes: *i. e.* the part of the Veientes who attacked their rear.

[32] *Et ipsi utróque versis signis resistunt.*] They also show two fronts, and make resistance.

[33] *Duæ potentissimæ et maximæ finitimæ gentes superatæ sunt.*] It is better to separate *maximæ* (which many MSS. indeed reject,) from *finitimæ* by the intervention of a comma. Some read *maximè*.

CHAP. LIV.—[34] *Continuatur.*] "Follows in close succession."

[35] *Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius arripuit.*] In most editions, we find *consules* in place of *Cn.*, but erroneously. Glareanus gives an important passage from Dionysius, B. 8. p. 544, which throws great light on the history of this period, and supplies a serious omission of Livy here and in chapter 41. In the year 269, during the consulship of Sp. Cassius and Proc. Virginius, a decree of the senate was passed, appointing ten commissioners of consular rank to mark out the public lands, and determine how much should be divided between the people and allies, (both to have an equal right to it,) and what should be each man's share. The consuls of the subsequent years were annually to appoint such commissioners, who should in the same way regulate any land that might from time to time be gained by the Romans and allies conjointly. This decree was allowed by all the consuls after to remain a dead letter; and it was for not enforcing it that Genucius arraigned the last consuls. Probably he wished, by this example, to terrify into a compliance the present consuls, who, while in office, could not be impeached.

[36] *Arripuit.*] This word is applied to a person who is virulently and suddenly accused. So, B. 3. 58.—Suet. in Cæs. c. 23. It properly means to snatch at or seize quickly and violently, perhaps like a dog.

[37] *Rei ad populum.*] "Impeached before the people.

[38] *Circumeunt . . . . . . non plebem magìs quàm juniores patrum.*] Though this is the reading of all the editions and commentators, yet I cannot avoid expressing my opinion, that, in place of *plebem, patres,* (which three MSS., *i. e.* Palat. Secund., Harlej. Secund., and Haverk. give,) would be better, and agree more with the whole scope of the following statement. Livy does not give their address to the plebeians, (a presumptive proof that they did not address them,) and the address to the patricians is a severe attack on the plebeians. It is not likely they would supplicate and abuse them at the same time. It is equally manifest that the plebeians were highly incensed against them; and that their supporters, the patricians, intended to carry the point, not by supplicatory appeal or reasoning with the people, but by violence and treachery. The consuls, not calculating on the populace, rested their only hope in enlisting on their side the "whole" strength of the patrician interest, not only the "elder" pa-

tricians, (which was quite ordinary and fair in such a case,) but, what was unusual, even the "younger" of them. Besides, if they address, according to the reading of the text, only the "plebeians" and "younger" patricians, the necessary inference is, that they pass the "elder" patricians by, who could naturally assist them more; whereas, it appears that the elder patricians were the chief agents.

[39] *Infulis velatos.*] An elegant allusion to the custom of decking victims with fillets before sacrifice. *Velari* is the verb generally used to express that.

[40] *Se commoverit.*] "Should rouse himself;" *i. e.* the patrician they were addressing, or, perhaps, the consul.

[41] *Seducta.*] "Kept aloof from;" *i. e.* few were privy to them.

[42] *Jure an injuriâ.*] "By right or wrong."

[43] *Quamvis audaci.*] "However daring."

[44] *Erecta expectatione.*] "On the tiptoe of expectation."

[45] *Obversati.*] "Those who had appeared at the tribune's door."—See c. 59.

[46] *Pœnitebat.*] "So far was any of them from feeling sorrow for the crime." *Noxa* and *noxia* are often indiscriminately used to signify "fault or misdemeanor."

[47] *Malo domandam.*] "Should be subdued, even by bad or criminal means."

CHAP. LV.—[48] *Sub hâc victoriâ.*] "Immediately after this victory."—So, B. 45. c. 10, *sub adventu Romanorum*,—B. 25. c. 24, *sub luce*. *Sub*, with an accus. and referring to time, generally means "during, at;" sometimes, "before."

[49] *Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus.*] Livy said before, c. 1, that the two consuls could not have their *fasces* together. But Suetonius, in Cæsar, c. 20, says, that his lictors followed the consul on the month on which he had not the *fasces* carried before him; hence it appears how twenty-four are mentioned here; one of the consuls had twelve lictors with their fasces marching "before" him, the other had twelve, without the fasces, "behind" him. *Apparere* is the word used to signify the attendance of an inferior officer (*apparitor*) on a magistrate.—See B. 1. c. 8. n. 8.

[50] *Nihil contemptius.*] *i. e.* Than the consuls.

[51] *Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere.*] They said the power of the consuls existed merely in the imaginations of the people.

[52] *Ordines.*] See ch. 23, n. 3.

[53] *Spoliari hominem, virgasque expediri.*] "The man to be stripped and the rods to be got ready" to flog him with. Hence *spolia*, as distinguished from *præda*, meant the clothes, arms, &c. stripped off an enemy. As no victory was thought complete without this proceeding, *spoliari* came to be taken in a general sense to mean, "to despoil in any way." *Circumscindere* is nearly

synonymous with *spoliari* in this passage, except that in *circumscindere* more violence is implied.

[54] *Advocatis.*] "And those, whom he called on to help him, giving him their assistance."

[55] *Ubi indignantium . . . . . . eò.*] "Retired thither into the thickest throng, where the outcry of those, who expressed their indignation for him, was most violent."

[56] *Omne discrimen adesse.*] "A general crisis was at hand."

[57] *Nil cuiquam.*] "That no one would respect any thing, either of public or private right."

[58] *In senatum vocari.*] "When he ordered the fathers to be summoned into the senate." This form of words, in this sense, is often found in Livy; so *vocare ad concilium, advocare ad concionem.* Many copies reject *in* here.

CHAP. LVI.—[59] *Tribunum plebi.*] *Plebi* is sometimes put for *plebei*, the genitive of *plebes;* or it may be the dative from *plebs*, as the dative is often put for the genitive. Some read *plebis;* and some omit the word.

[60] *Contraque omnium.*] For a similar use of *que*, see B. 3. ch. 38. n.

[61] *Permissurum tribunatum.*] "Would give loose rein to his tribuneship." *Permitto* is used to signify giving loose rein to a horse, and inciting him.—See B. 3. c. 61.

[62] *Post publicam causam.*] "Postponing private resentment to the public cause."

[63] *Plebei magistratus tributis comitiis.*] Dionysius says that these were first created at the *comitia curiata.* At the *comitia tributa*, all the people, whether resident or not, voted in their proper tribes (see B. 1. c. 43. n. 11.) individually; here each man's vote was equally effectual; so that the patricians, even if they attended them (which some doubt), had little influence. They were held without the authority of the patricians, and for the purpose of creating the inferior magistrates, such as tribunes of the people, ædiles, quæstors, &c., also proconsuls, proprætors, &c.; electing certain priests, and holding trials. Their decrees were called *plebiscita*, which, after the year 306, (see B. 3. c. 55,) bound the whole Roman people. Before that they bound only the plebeians.

[64] *Haud parva res sub titulo minimè atroci.*] "Under a title, at first appearance not at all formidable, was this measure proposed—no trifling one, but one which took away, &c." The resident plebeian citizens were the only persons who voted at the *comitia curiata;* these were less hostile to the patricians, and fewer than the non-residents, who were ranked among the tribes (and voted at the *comitia tributa*) and not among the *curiæ*, as the residents were; hence the patricians were less influential in the *comitia tributa* than at the *comitia curiata.* At the *comitia curiata*, the people voted by *curiæ*, of which a majority, sixteen, (there were only thirty,) decided every question. Here also pro-

perty had no lawful weight; as they oted man by man without distinction. Yet the poor freemen were often influenced by the rich.

[65] *Quæ una vis ad resistendum erat.*] "Which was the only power (*i. e.* the tribunes) that could make resistance."

[66] *Collegio.*] The college of tribunes.

[67] *Suo ipsa molimine gravis.*] *i. e.* One which, from its own weight, required time and exertion to conclude it.

[68] *Ad ultimum dimicationis.*] "To a desperate conflict."—See c. 45. n. 48.

[69] *Invisum infestumque,*] "Hated by, and hostile to." These words are sometimes used in an active, sometimes in a passive sense, to signify "hating, or hated by."—See B. 1. c. 7. n. 94.—B. 2. c. 61.—B. 4. c. 53.—B. 5. c. 8. *Infestus, vel qui infert malum, vel cui malum infertur.*—See Gell. 9. 12, *Invisus, vel qui invidet, vel cui invidetur,* scil. *qui odio habetur.*

[70] *Auctor.*] "As he was a more recent, so he was a more spirited, promoter of the law." *Auctor* sometimes means "one who advises or authorizes a thing;" also "one who promotes, revives, or restores a thing."—See c. 44. 48.—B. 4. c. 20. n.

[71] *In accusationem Appii . . . . . . exorsus.*] "Broke out at once into an accusation of Appius." Gronovius thinks the word should be *incusationem,* and that the preposition *in* should be rejected. According to this the translation would be, "having commenced an accusation of."

[72] *Rudis in militari homine lingua.*] He could not speak with the copiousness and freedom he wished. *Suppetere* means "to have a sufficient abundance of a thing in readiness." This passage reminds one of Othello's defence:

"*Rude* am I in speech,
"And little blessed with the set phrase of peace."

[73] *Non facilè.*] *Tam* is understood—an ellipsis usual with the best writers.

[74] *Templum.*] "Take previous possession of the place for assembling." The people could not assemble anywhere for the transaction of public business, except on consecrated ground, *templum.* The *comitium,* and the *suggestum* or *rostra,* (the place from which harangues were delivered to the people,) were so oalled.—See B. 8. c. 14.—B. 3. c. 17.—Cic. in Vatin. 24.

[75] *Submoveri.*] One of the concessions made to the people at Mons Sacer was, that, whenever the tribunes summoned an assembly, the patricians should not interfere with it.

[76] *Viator.*] This was the name given to the subordinate officer that attended a tribune, a sort of running footman, (from *via,*) employed to bear his commands; espeeially, to go through the country and public ways to summon thenon-reside freemennt to the city.—See Cic. de Senectute, 56.

[77] *Non populi, sed plebis.*] *Populus* means the whole people, including patricians and plebeians; *plebs,* the plebeians only.—See ch. 35.—B. 3. c. 19.

[78] *Facilè et contemptim.*] "By arguing lightly and contemptuously about his authority." Drakenborch would rather reject *et,* and join *facilè* in the explanation of the passage to *perturbare* or *poterat.*

[79] *Sine imperio, sinè magistratu.*] "Without military authority, without civil office." This is the proper signification of these words. *Imperium* sometimes means "civil power," "the right of taking auspices," and "the power of dispensing justice." Let the reader mark, that Livy here speaks in the person of Appius, who denies the tribunes were "regular" magistrates, as being their enemy. But Livy in this chapter, speaking as a historian, calls them *magistratus.*—(See also ch. 33, 35.—B. 4. c. 2.—B. 23. c. 23.—B. 39. c. 52.) So the Latin historians call them. All the Greek historians call them ἄρχοντες. They did not wear the same badges of office, namely, the *prætexta,* &c. as the other magistrates; nor, like them, did they enter on their office at the beginning of the year; nor administer justice, sitting on a regular chair or bench; nor cease from their functions during a dictatorship; besides, they were properly *magistratus plebis,* not *magistratus populi.* It is I think from these considerations that Appius speaks.

CHAP. LVII.—[80] *Ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur . . . . . . animi.*] "The more their minds were called off from violence to cool deliberation, some time having intervened, the more did they shrink (or were abhorrent) from contention." One MS. has *avocabantur,* which, says Drakenborch, (and very justly,) is the word often used elsewhere in such circumstances. These words, like *advertere* and *avertere,* are often confounded.—See B. 1. c. 40. n. 67.—ch. 6. n. 81.

[81] *Tantam.*] "Only so great;" *i. e.* not to carry it so far as to breed discord.

[82] *Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahunt, nihil relictum esse virium in medio.*] So, Sall. Jug. c. 41, *cœpêre nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem, in lubidinem vertere; sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata.*

[83] *Distractam.*] The accus. for the nom. by Enallage, say the commentators. There are many instances of such peculiarities of phrase.—B. 31. c. 27. *Hic metus Codrionem oppidum ut dederetur Romanis effecit.*—Virg. Æn. 1. 573; *urbem, quam statuo, vestra est;*—Ter. Adelph. 5. 4, *illum ut vivat optant.*—Eun. 4. 3. 11; *eunuchum, quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit.* I think such accusatives may be governed by *secundùm,* or some such preposition understood; such an idiom is very common in Greek, and has been adopted into the English

language.—See c. 28. n. 40. Might not *plebs querebatur*, or the like, be understood before *nihil relictum*, and its influence continued?

CHAP. LVIII.—[84] *Numero etiam addito.*] "We have the authority of Piso that the number also was increased at that time by the addition of three, as if there were only two before." So the commentators explain these obscure words. *Additos tres*, which is another reading, and much the more probable one, would make the construction plainer.

[85] *Eadem in militiâ sævitia.*] "The same severity, which Appius exercised at home, he began to exercise with less restraint in the camp." *Odisse*, "he began to hate."

[86] *Se unico consule objecto.*] That, when he was set up as consul, as the only man able to oppose the power of the tribunes,—" So *objectus* is used B. 4. c. 13. 44. *Oppositus* is used in a similar sense in c. 61 of this book.

[87] *Poterat, ... imbiberant.*] Scil. *exercitus.*—See B. 3. c. 38. n. for a similar use of the conjunction. Some read *imbiberat.*

[88] *Suâ sponte motam remittere industriam.*] "The diligence, which they would use of their own accord, they would relax, should he exhort them to work." *Præsenti*, "when he was present."

[89] *Nequicquam acerbitate promptâ.*] "Having tried every species of severity without effect."

CHAP. LIX.—[90] *Fabium.*] See c. 43.

[91] *Expressa vis.*] Then they were obliged to put forth their strength. The force of these words is, that this effort was reluctantly made, as it were "wrung" from them, and only through the fear of losing their camp.

[92] *Alii.*] "Crevier thinks the word should be *aliâ ;* of any other loss or disgrace, that they may suffer, they were glad, and were unwilling that their camp should be taken, only because, as Roman soldiers, that would reflect indelible shame on them." This, I think, far a more rational mode of explaining the passage than Walker's, who says, *ni fallor, vulgatum (*i. e. *alii) defendi potest. Vulgò milites vinci voluerunt, eosque clades sua nullo dolore affecit ; quosdam autem alios, etiam gaudio.* Even if this explanation make common sense, it is not in my opinion warranted by the genius or usage of the Latin tongue, or even by Livy's words. *Alius* in a latter clause of a sentence, implying a part of a whole, has reference to *alius* expressed or understood in the preceding, and expressing the other part; and the clauses must be in immediate juxta-position, or evident contrast. (See B. 3. c. 61. n.) Now where is the preceding clause to which this *alii* refers? Or where is the juxta-position or contrast? Is it *vinci voluit?* for there can be no other. Not to say that, in this case, *alii* cannot be joined to *voluit*, or that there intervene two sen-

tences, the language of Livy, who speaks of all the army without reserve or exception, opposes such an unnatural junction and reference. Indeed Walker, by the words *defendi potest*, seems to have some misgivings as to the correctness of the word *alii*. One MS. has *alio*, which in the margin is corrected to *alioquin*. Perizonius corrects the word to *at*. Now I cannot help observing, that, if those readings be thought objectionable, *at ille* (scil. *miles Romanus* or *exercitus*), or *at hi*, would be better than this untenable word *alii*. No mistake could more easily occur in MSS. where words are abbreviated; a point, or stroke, serving for a letter; and one compound letter for many. So the sense of the passage I take to be this. The whole army were glad to be defeated to spite their commander, and fled before the enemy. When their entrenchments were attacked, they reluctantly exerted themselves to repulse the enemy, so that it was evident, that Roman soldiers (a word equivalent to men of superior valour, unused to defeat or shame,) were willing to submit to every thing except the capture of their camp. But their defeat and disgrace they were glad of, aye, the Roman soldiers were glad of it. Their unwillingness that the camp should be taken, did not, I think, proceed, as Crevier imagines, from any feeling of pride, (for that it appears they had not, and, if they had, it was sufficiently humbled by their defeat,) but a selfish self-interest. At this time every Roman soldier was obliged to support himself, and had with him in the camp some of his property, his food, his arms, vessels, and furniture; so that the loss of the camp, not to say that it would expose him to the inclemency of the weather, would deprive him of a portion of his fortune. However, I wish the reader to consult his own taste and judgment on this point. The only thing contended for is the incorrectness of the word *alii* and of Walker's explanation.

[93] *Experiri.*] "Put his power to the proof."

[94] *Nihil præter tempus noxæ lucrarentur.*] "Since they gained nothing but a respite of their punishment. *Noxa* sometimes means "punishment for an act." So, B. 8. c. 33, *eximere noxæ*. Ovid, *noxæ deditus hostis*. Crevier thinks *noxæ* is the subject to *lucrarentur*, and here means "the guilty soldiers," as *servitia* is sometimes put for *servi*, *operæ* for *operarii*, &c. See B. 3. c. 15 n. Walker rejects this interpretation, not knowing of any authority for this use of the word; yet Cic. (Ver. 5. 75,) gives it this meaning, *noxa est corpus quod nocuit, id est, servus; noxia ipsum maleficium, veluti furtum;* and Justinian, Instit. 4. 8, gives the word a like definition.—See Facciolati's Lexicon.

[95] *Quum maximè.*] "Particularly at the time when."

[95*] *Eo pavore . . . . . . ut.*] "With such fear . . . that——"

[96] *Signaque et ordines.*] "Both the battalions and companies." As each *manipulus* had a standard, (*signum*), *signum* is sometimes used in the sense of *manipulus*.—See B. 25. c. 23.—B. 33. c. 9.

So Sall. Cat. c. 65, *reliqua signa in subsidiis arctiùs collocat.* This is the explanation generally given for *signa* in this place. But I think the word ought rather to be taken in its usual sense, to mean the standards; accordingly he says after, *signo amisso signiferos, &c.* As each *manipulus* consisted of two companies, *ordines* or *centuriæ*, it is natural to think it had one standard for each.

[97] *Stragem.*] This word sometimes means a heap of any bodies thrown down.—See B. 7. c. 23.—B. 8. c. 30.—B. 35. c. 30.—B. 40. c. 2.—Virg. Æn. 12. 453. Here the soldiers, who in their hurry and confusion were thrown down, are called *strages.*

[98] *Quum revocando . . . . . . persecutus esset.*] "After he had in vain persisted in calling back his men."—See B. 3. 20. n.

[99] *Haud falsò.*] He was true in calling them deserters.

[1] *Duplicarios.*] These were soldiers who were rewarded for some services with a double allowance of bread. It was usual with the Romans and Spartans to reward valour in this way. See B. 7. c. 37.—B. 24. c. 47.—Herod. B. 6. 57. The Spartan king had always a double portion of food at the public feast, that he might be able to reward any person he pleased for his merit.

CHAP. LX.—[2] *Tum duci.*] Walker explains this passage (in my opinion, very strangely,) thus: *duci nempe addictus, Patribus placatior: namque exercitus Quinctio nunquam fuerat iratus. De hâc specie ellipseos vid. Sanct. Min.* 1. 4. c. 8. I think it more simple and consistent with the genius of the language to make *duci* governed by *placatior*, thus: *Quinctianus exercitus rediit tum duci placatior, tum propter ducem Patribus quoque placatior, quàm Appianus exercitus.*

[3] *Res major.*] "A matter which was more important from the victory gained by the plebeians in the contest they engaged in, than from any real advantage accruing from it;" though Livy said before, that it was an important matter, as the patricians lost all power of creating whatever tribunes they pleased; see c. 56. He does not however here contradict himself; because, though they did lose it, yet, as they generally found one or more of the tribunes to lend themselves to them in thwarting the measures of the rest by the power of intercession, that loss was of little consequence. Thus Walker explains the passage.

CHAP. LXI.—[4] *Tanquam tertio.*] The consuls were favourable to the law; but Appius, as if he were a third consul, opposed the tribunes.

[5] *Diem dixêre.*] "Appointed him a day to stand his trial." The charges against him were, that he proposed in the senate measures injurious to the people; that he had been exciting sedition; that he had laid violent hands on the sacred person of a tribune (see c. 56); and that through his means the Roman arms were defeated and disgraced.

[6] *Plenus suarum.*] Crevier thinks these words mean "the resentment of the people against himself and his father;" but Walker says that, though *ira rei alicujus* generally means "resentment on account of any thing," just as, in Livy, *ira uxoris corruptæ* means "resentment on account of a wife being debauched," and *ira ereptæ provinciæ* means "resentment on account of a province being taken away;" yet it is very questionable whether *sua paternaque ira* can mean "resentment against himself and his father." He says that *plenus iræ* undoubtedly always means "a person burning with rage," not "one against whom the rage of another burns."—See B. 6. c. 18.—B. 27. c. 40. *Invisus* here can be taken in an active sense to mean "one who hates, or is hostile to," as B. 4. c. 53.—B. 5. c. 8. See c. 56. n. 69.

[7] *Non temerè.*] Hardly ever, seldom; perhaps, more literally, "did not, at all hazards, exert themselves as much for any one."

[8] *Oppositum.*] "Opposed as a sort of barrier." *Opponere* and *objicere* are often applied to barriers raised to prevent inundations, &c.

[9] *Modum duntaxat . . . . . . egressum.*] "Who only outstepped the bounds of moderation a little."

[10] *Vestem mutaret.*] It was usual with persons under impeachment, and their relations and near friends, to go about in a shabby garb, and also to let their beard and hair grow, to show their affliction, and excite pity.

[11] *Diem . . . prodicerent.*] "Prolonged the day of trial."—So B. 3. c. 57, and elsewhere. Most old copies read *producerent.* So, for *prodicta* farther down, *prædicta* is sometimes read.

[12] *Trahi rem . . . . . .*] "The affair to be spun out, or die away." Walker thinks it means not so much what did actually happen, as what the tribunes intended, or were going to allow. I think it more natural to say, that they first put off the trial, and then showed great carelessness and inactivity about bringing it on at the appointed time; showed no disposition to agitate the question any more. I think it refers to their acts rather than their intentions.—See B. 3. c. 9. n.

[13] *Laudationem.*] "The funeral oration."—See c. 46. n.

CHAP. LXII.—[14] *Religio fuerit.*] "They felt religious scruples."—See c. 5.

[15] *Vertit.*] Scil. *se.*—See c. 27.

[16] *Vicorum.*] Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus, says that the Sabines, as being descended from the Lacedemonians, never fortified their towns.

[17] *Integro . . . . . . bello.*] "Though the war was not finished." *Res integra* means "a thing about which nothing has been done;" it is opposed to *res peracta.*—See c. 5. The consul thought the retreat of the enemy was a proof of their defeat, and so drew off his troops.

CHAP. LXIII.—[18] *Coacti . . . . . . ad bellum.*] "Being compelled by a decree of the senate to set out at once to the war."—So, Cic. in Cat. 2. *cur cogerer in senatum.*

[19] *Nihil aliud quàm.*] "Without performing any more than exciting a groundless fear in the Romans." In the same way are used the words *nec quicquam aliud quàm,* B. 31. c. 24. *Nihil priùs quàm,* B. 35. c. 12. *Nihil ampliùs quàm,* Suet. in Calig. c. 44.

[20] *Populantes.*] "Proceeded in their depredations." — See B. 3. c. 48.

CHAP. LXIV.—[21] *Multiplici.*] Many times greater than the spoil carried off by the enemy.—See B. 4. c. 60, *efficiebat multiplex gaudium.*

[22] *Ingenti cæde.*] These words allude to the slain; *plurimo sanguine,* to the wounded. These expressions are often found together.—See B. 9. c. 13.—B. 27. c. 49.

[23] *Quia paucitas.*] Because their small numbers made their loss be more sensibly felt; literally, "were nearer feeling the loss."

[24] *Dum se putant vincere, vicêre.*] So, Virg. Æn. 5. 231, *possunt, quia posse videntur.*—See Flor. B. 4. c. 2.

[25] *Si senserint.*] If the Romans discovered this great accession to the numbers of their enemies.

[26] *Tertiâ vigiliâ.*] The Romans divided the night into four divisions, called watches, of three hours each; a sound of trumpet announced the change of each: the third watch began at midnight. The length of these hours varied according to the length of the night.

[27] *Stationem.*] See c. 39. n. 78.

[28] *Plures.*] "To be more numerous than they were, and to be Romans."

[29] *Insueto.*] Riders with whom they were unacquainted.

[30] *Intentos.*] Kept the Volscians in expectation, as it were, of an attack from the enemy.

CHAP. LXV.—[31] *In quos post principia.*] "Into which the unbroken lines behind the front rank had a safe retreat." Originally the Roman army, when drawn up, consisted only of two lines parallel to each other; the first of which was called *principes,* or sometimes *principia;* but after a third rank called *hastati,* and placed in front, was added, the front was still sometimes called *principia.*—So B. 3. c. 22.—Tacit. Hist. 2. c. 43.—Sall. Jug. c. 49, *transvorsis principiis.*

[32] *Ante signa.*] In front of the infantry. Their proper station was in the wings of the army; hence they were sometimes called *alæ.*—See c. 59.—B. 3. e. 50. n.

[33] *Leviores.*] "That they may be the lighter to pass the heights." *Cursuque subeunt,* "they advance at full speed."

[34] *Vires.*] "When their strength enabled them to meet those

who were in possession of the place, they venture voluntarily to advance."

[35] *Commovent aciem.*] They put the whole body in motion.

[36] *Impetu capto.*] "Having made an effort."—So, B. 22. c. 5. —B. 3. c. 5, *conatibus captis.*

[37] *Novâ vi.*] Crevier thinks the words mean, "not that the besiegers possessed any new or additional force to what they possessed the year before, but because, &c." Walker thinks the words mean, "not that the besiegers made any new attack on them."

T. LIVII PATAVINI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

EPITOME.

Seditiones de agrariis legibus factæ. Capitolium, ab exsulibus et servis occupatum, cæsis iis, receptum est. Census bis actus est; priore lustro censa sunt civium capita centum quatuor millia ducenta quatuordecim, præter orbos orbasque; sequenti, centum septemdecim millia ducenta novemdecim. Quum adversùs Æquos res malè gesta esset, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator factus, quum rure intentus rustico operi esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est. Is victos hostes sub jugum misit. Tribunorum plebis numerus ampliatus est, ut essent decem, trigesimo sexto anno à primis tribunis plebis. Petitis per legatos et allatis Atticis legibus, ad constituendas eas proponendasque decemviri pro consulibus sine ullis aliis magistratibus creati, altero et trecentesimo anno, quàm Roma condita erat; et, ut à regibus ad consules, ita à consulibus ad decemviros, translatum imperium. Hi, decem tabulis legum positis, quum modestè se in eo honore gessissent, et ob id in alterum quoque annum eundem esse magistratum placuisset, duabus tabulis ad decem adjectis, quum complura impotenter fecissent, magistratum noluerunt deponere, et in tertium annum retinuerunt: donec inviso eorum imperio finem attulit libido Ap. Claudii. Qui, quum in amorem virginis incidisset, submisso qui eam in servitutem peteret, necessitatem patri ejus Virginio imposuit, rapto ex tabernâ proximâ cultro, ut filiam interimeret, quum aliter eam tueri non posset, ne in potestatem stuprum illaturi veniret. Hoc tam magnæ luxuriæ exemplo plebs incitata montem Aventinum occupavit, coëgitque decemviros abdicare se magistratu; ex

quibus Appius et unus collegarum, qui præcipuè pœnam meruerant, in carcerem conjecti; ceteri in exsilium acti. Res præterea contra Sabinos, et Volscos, et Æquos, prosperè gestas continet, et parum honestum populi Romani judicium: qui, judex inter Ardeates et Aricinos sumptus, agrum, de quo ambigebatur, sibi adjudicavit.

I. Antio capto, Ti. Æmilius et Q. Fabius consules fiunt. Hic erat Fabius Quintus, qui unus extinctæ ad Cremeram[1] genti superfuerat. Jam priore consulatu Æmilius dandi agri plebi fuerat auctor. Itaque secundo quoque consulatu ejus et agrarii[2] se in spem legis erexerant, et tribuni rem, contra consules sæpè tentatam, adjutore utique consule, obtineri posse rati, suscipiunt; et consul manebat in sententiâ suâ. Possessores et magna pars Patrum, tribuniciis[3] se jactare actionibus principem civitatis, et largiendo de alieno popularem fieri querentes, totius invidiam rei à tribunis in consulem averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius consilio neutri parti acerbo rem expedîsset: "T. Quinctii ductu et "auspicio agri capti priore anno aliquantum à Volscis "esse[4]; Antium, propinquam, opportunam, et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse; ita sine querelis "possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem in concordiâ fore." Hæc sententia accepta est. Triumviros agro dando creat[5] T. Quinctium, A. Virginium, P. Furium; jussi nomina dare, qui agrum accipere vellent. Fecit statim (ut fit) fastidium copia; adeòque pauci nomina dedêre, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur; cetera multitudo poscere Romæ agrum malle, quàm alibi accipere. Æqui à Q. Fabio (is eò cum exercitu venerat) pacem petiêre, irritamque eam ipsi subitâ incursione in agrum Latinum fecêre.

II. Q. Servilius, insequenti anno, (is enim cum Sp. Postumio consul fuit) in Æquos missus, in Latino agro stativa habuit; intra castra[6] quies necessaria morbo implicitum exercitum tenuit. Extractum in tertium annum bellum est, Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus. Fabio extra ordinem, quia is victor pacem Æquis dederat, ea provincia data. Qui, haud dubiâ spe[7] profectus famam nominis sui pacaturam Æquos, legatos in concilium gentis

missos nunciare jussit, "Q. Fabium consulem dicere se "ex Æquis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Româ Æquis bel-"lum afferre, eâdem dextrâ armatâ, quam pacatam illis "antea dederat. Quorum id perfidiâ et perjurio fiat, "deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores[8]. Se tamen, "utcunque sit, etiam nunc[9], pœnitere suâ sponte Æquos, "quàm pati hostilia, malle. Si pœniteat, tutum recep-"tum ad expertam clementiam fore; sin perjurio gau-"deant, diis magìs iratis[10], quàm hostibus, gesturos "bellum." Hæc dicta adeò nihil moverunt quemquam, ut legati propè violati sint, exercitusque in Algidum adversùs Romanos missus. Quæ ubi Romam sunt nunciata, indignitas rei, magìs quàm periculum, consulem alterum ab urbe excivit; ita duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessêre acie instructâ, ut confestim dimicarent. Sed, quum fortè haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat: "Ostentare hoc est, Romani, "non gerere, bellum; in noctem imminentem aciem "instruitis; longiore luce ad id certamen, quod instat, "nobis opus est. Crastino die oriente sole redite in "aciem; erit copia pugnandi, ne timete." His vocibus irritatus miles in diem posterum in castra reducitur, longam venire[11] noctem ratus, quæ moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem corpora cibo somnoque curant. Ubi illuxit postero die, prior aliquanto constitit[12] Romana acies; tandem et Æqui processêre. Prœlium fuit utrinque vehemens, quòd et Romanus irâ odioque pugnabat, et Æquos conscientia contracti culpâ periculi, et desperatio[13] futuræ sibi postea fidei, ultima audere et experiri cogebat. Non tamen sustinuêre aciem Romanam Æqui; pulsique quum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilo inclinatioribus ad pacem animis, ferox multitudo increpare duces, quòd in aciem, quâ pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit. "Æquos populationibus incursionibusque meli-"ores esse, et multas passim manus, quàm magnam "molem unius exercitûs, rectiùs bella gerere."

III. Relicto itaque castris præsidio, egressi tanto cum tumultu invasêre fines Romanos, ut ad urbem quoque terrorem pertulerint; necopinata etiam res plus trepidationis fecit, quòd nihil minùs, quàm ne victus ac propè in castris obsessus hostis memor populationis esset, timeri

poterat; agrestesque, pavidi incidentes portis, non populationem, nec prædonum parvas manus, sed, omnia vano augentes timore, exercitus et legiones adesse hostium, et infesto agmine ruere ad urbem, clamabant. Ab his proximi audita incerta[14], eóque vaniora, ferre ad alios; cursus clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum à pavore captæ urbis abesse. Fortè ab Algido Quinctius consul redierat Romam, (id remedium timori fuit) tumultuque sedato, victos timeri increpans[15] hostes, præsidia portis imposuit. Vocato dein senatu, quum, ex auctoritate Patrum justitio[16] indicto, profectus ad tutandos fines esset, Q. Servilio præfecto[17] urbis relicto, hostem in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregiè est; qui, quà venturum hostem sciebat, gravem prædâ, eòque impeditiore agmine incedentem, aggressus, funestam ei populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasêre ex insidiis; præda omnis recepta est. Sic finem justitio, quod quatriduum fuit, reditus Quinctii consulis in urbem fecit. Census[18] deinde actus, et conditum ab Quinctio lustrum. Censa civium capita centum quatuor millia et ducenta quatuordecim dicuntur, præter orbos orbasque[19]. In Æquis nihil deinde memorabile actum; in oppida sua se recepêre, uri sua popularique passi. Consul, quum aliquoties per omnem hostium agrum infesto agmine populabundus îsset, cum ingenti laude prædâque Romam rediit.

IV. Consules indè A. Postumius Albus, Sp. Furius Fusus. Furios Fusios[20] scripsêre quidam; id admoneo, ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse, quæ nominum est, putet. Haud dubium erat, quin cum Æquis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Æqui ab Ecetranis Volscis præsidium petiêre; quo cupidè oblato, (adeò civitates hæ perpetuo in Romanos odio certavêre[21]) bellum summâ vi parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici, et prædicant Romanis Ecetranum[22] ad Æquos descîsse; suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, quòd magna vis hominum indè, quum oppidum captum esset, confugisset ad Æquos; isque miles per bellum Æquicum vel acerrimus fuit. Compulsis deinde in oppida Æquis, ea multitudo dilapsa, quum Antium redîsset, suâ sponte jam infidos[23] colonos Romanis abalienavit. Necdum maturâ re, quum

defectionem parari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus, ut, principibus coloniæ Romam excitis[24], quærerent, quidnam rei esset. Qui quum haud gravati[25] venissent, introducti à consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad interrogata, ut magìs suspecti, quàm venerant, dimitterentur. Bellum indè haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius consulum alter, cui ea provincia evenerat, profectus in Æquos, Hernicorum in agro populabundum hostem invenit; ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam universa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum temerè pugnæ commisit. Primo concursu pulsus se in castra recepit, neque is finis periculi fuit; namque et proximâ nocte et postero die tantâ vi castra sunt circumsessa atque oppugnata, ut ne nuncius quidem indè mitti Romam posset. Hernici, et malè pugnatum, et consulem exercitumque obsideri, nunciaverunt; tantumque terrorem incussêre Patribus, ut (quæ forma senatûsconsulti ultimæ semper necessitatis habita est) Postumio alteri consulum negotium daretur, "Videre[26], ne quid "respublica detrimenti caperet." Ipsum consulem Romæ manere et conscribendos omnes, qui arma ferre possent, optimum visum est; pro consule[27] T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti. Ad eum explendum Latini, Hernicique, et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites (ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant) jussi.

V. Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia, superante multitudine, hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas, ut non suffecturas ad omnia, aggressi sunt; simul castra oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitûs ad populandum agrum Romanum missa, urbemque ipsam, si qua fortuna daret, tentandam. L. Valerius ad præsidium urbis relictus; consul Postumius ad arcendas populationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ullâ parte curæ aut laboris; vigiliæ in urbe, stationes ante portas, præsidiaque in muris disposita, et, quod necesse erat in tanto tumultu, justitium per aliquot dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul, quum primò quietus obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumanâ portâ[28] erupit, et, quum persequi posset, metu substitit, ne qua, ex parte alterâ, in castra

vis fierit. Furium legatum (frater idem consulis erat) longiùs extulit cursus; nec suos ille redeuntes, persequendi studio, neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit. Ita exclusus, multis sæpe frustra conatibus captis, ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter dimicans cecidit. Et consul, nuncio circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum se temerè magìs, quàm satìs cautè, in mediam dimicationem infert, vulnere accepto, ægrè ab circumstantibus ereptus, et suorum animos turbavit, et ferociores hostes fecit. Qui, cæde legati et consulis vulnere accensi, nullâ deinde vi sustineri potuêre, quum compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur, nec spe, nec viribus pares[29]; venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis[30] cum Latino Hernicoque exercitu subvenisset. Is, intentos in castra Romana Æquos legatique caput ferociter ostentantes, ab tergo adortus, simul ad signum[31] à se procul editum ex castris eruptione factâ, magnam vim hostium circumvenit. Minor cædes, fuga effusior, Æquorum in agro fuit Romano; in quos palatos, prædam agentes, Postumius aliquot locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat præsidia, impetum dedit. Ii vagi, dissipato agmine fugientes, in Quinctium victorem, cum saucio consule revertentem, incidêre. Tum consularis exercitus egregiâ pugnâ consulis vulnus, legati et cohortium cædem, ultus est; magnæ clades ultrò citróque illis diebus et illatæ et acceptæ. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiquâ re, quot pugnaverint ceciderintve, exacto affirmare numero; audet tamen Antias Valerius[32] concipere summas. Romanos cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque millia ac trecentos; ex prædatoribus Æquorum, qui populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur, ab A. Postumio consule duo millia et quadringentos cæsos; ceteram multitudinem, prædam agentem, quæ inciderit in Quinctium, nequaquam pari defunctam esse cæde[33]; interfecta indè quatuor millia, et, exsequendo subtiliter numerum, ducentos, ait, et triginta. Ut Romam reditum et justitium remissum est, cœlum visum est ardere plurimo igni; portentaque alia aut obversata oculis, aut vanas exterritis ostentavêre species. His avertendis terroribus in triduum feriæ indictæ, per quas omnia delubra pacem deûm exposcen-

tium virorum mulierumque turbâ implebantur. Cohortes inde Latinæ Hernicæque ab senatu, gratiis ob impigram militiam actis, remissæ domos. Antiates, mille milites[34], quia serum auxilium post prœlium venerant, propè cum ignominiâ dimissi.

VI. Comitia inde habita; creati consules L. Æbutius, P. Servilius, Kalendis Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni[35] agebatur, consulatum ineunt. Grave tempus[36] et fortè annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque, nec hominibus magìs, quàm pecori; et auxêre vim morbi, terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea colluvio mixtorum omnis generis animantium, et odore insolito urbanos, et agrestem, confertum in arcta tecta, æstu ac vigiliis, angebat; ministeriaque[37] invicem ac contagio ipsa vulgabant morbos. Vix instantes sustinentibus[38] clades repentè legati Hernici nunciant, in agro suo Æquos Volscosque conjunctis copiis castra posuisse; inde exercitu ingenti fines suos depopulari. Præterquam quòd infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis afflictam civitatem pestilentiâ esse, mœstum etiam responsum tulêre, "Ut per se ipsi Hernici cum Latinis res suas "tutarentur. Urbem Romanam subitâ deûm irâ morbo "populari. Si qua ejus mali quies veniat, ut anno antè, "ut semper aliàs, sociis opem laturos." Discessêre socii, pro tristi nuncio[39] tristiorem domum referentes, quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat, quod vix Romanis fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutiùs se in Hernico hostis continuit; pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos, etiam sine belli injuriâ vastatos[40]. Ubi quum obvius nemo, ne inermis quidem, fieret, perque omnia, non præsidiis modò deserta, sed etiam cultu agresti, transirent, pervenêre ad tertium lapidem Gabinâ viâ. Mortuus Æbutius erat Romanus consul; collega ejus Servilius exiguâ in spe trahebat animam; affecti plerique principum, Patrum major pars, militaris ferè ætas omnis; ut non modò ad expeditiones, quas in tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas stationes, viribus sufficerent[41]. Munus vigiliarum senatores, qui per ætatem ac valetudinem poterant, per se ipsi obibant; circuitio ac cura ædilium plebei erat[42]; ad eos summa rerum ac majestas consularis imperii venerat.

VII. Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, dii præsides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quæ Volscis Æquisque, prædonum potiùs mentem, quàm hostium, dedit. Adeò enim nulla spes non potiundi modò, sed ne adeundi quidem, Romana mœnia, animos eorum cepit, tectaque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli[43] avertêre mentes eorum, ut, totis passim castris fremitu[44] orto: "Quid in "vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pecorum hominum-"que desides sine prædâ tempus tererent, quum integra "loca, Tusculanum agrum, opimum copiis, petere pos-"sent?" signa repentè convellerent, transversisque itineribus per Lavicanos agros in Tusculanos colles transirent; eò vis omnis tempestasque belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique, pudore etiam, non misericordiâ solùm, moti, si nec obstitissent communibus hostibus infesto agmine Romanam urbem petentibus, nec opem ullam obsessis[45] sociis ferrent, conjuncto exercitu Romam pergunt. Ubi quum hostes non invenissent, secuti famam ac vestigia, obvii fiunt descendentibus ab Tusculano in Albanam vallem; ibi haudquaquam æquo prælio[46] pugnatum est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in præsentia fuit. Haud minor Romæ fit morbo strages, quàm quanta[47] ferro sociorum facta erat; consul, qui unus supererat, moritur; mortui et alii clari viri, M. Valerius, T. Virginius Rutilus, augures; Ser. Sulpicius, curio[48] maximus; et per ignota capita latè evagata est vis morbi; inopsque senatus auxilii humani, ad deos populum ac vota vertit; jussi cum conjugibus ac liberis supplicatum ire, pacemque exposcere deûm. Ad id, quod sua quemque mala cogebant, auctoritate publicâ evocati, omnia delubra implent; stratæ passim matres, crinibus templa verrentes, veniam irarum cælestium, finemque pesti, exposcunt.

VIII. Indè paullatim, seu pace deûm impetratâ, seu graviore tempore anni jam circumacto, defuncta morbis corpora salubriora esse incipere; versisque animis jam ad publicam curam, quum aliquot interregna[49] exîssent, P. Valerius Publicola tertio die, quàm interregnum inierat, consules creat L. Lucretium Tricipitinum et T. Veturium Geminum; sive ille Vetusius[50] fuit. Ante diem tertium Idus sextiles consulatum ineunt, jam satìs

validâ civitate, ut non solùm arcere bellum, sed ultrò etiam inferre, posset. Igitur nunciantibus Hernicis in fines suos transcendisse hostes, impigrè promissum auxilium; duo consulares exercitus scripti. Veturius missus in Volscos ad bellum ultrò inferendum. Tricipitinus, populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus, non ultrà, quàm in Hernicos, procedit. Veturius primo prœlio hostes fundit fugatque. Lucretium, dum in Hernicis sedet, prædonum agmen fefellit, supra montes Prænestinos ductum, inde demissum in campos. Vastavêre agros Prænestinum Gabinumque; ex Gabino in Tusculanos flexêre colles. Urbi quoque Romæ ingens præbitus terror, magìs in re subitâ[51], quàm quòd ad arcendam vim parùm virium esset. Q. Fabius præerat urbi. Is, armatâ juventute, dispositisque præsidiis, tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes, prædâ ex proximis locis raptâ, appropinquare urbi non ausi, quum circumacto agmine redirent, quanto longiùs ab urbe hostium abscederent, eo solutiore curâ in Lucretium incidunt consulem, jam ante exploratis[52] itineribus suis, instructum et ad certamen intentum. Igitur, præparatis animis, repentino pavore perculsos adorti, aliquanto pauciores multitudinem ingentem fundunt fugantque; et compulsos in cavas valles, quum exitus haud in facili[53] esset, circumveniunt. Ibi Volscum nomen propè deletum est; tredecim millia quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse in acie ac fugâ, mille ducentos quinquaginta vivos captos, signa viginti septem militaria relata, in quibusdam annalibus invenio; ubi etsi adjectum aliquid numero sit, magna certè cædes fuit. Victor consul, ingenti prædâ potitus, eadem in stativa rediit. Tum consules castra conjungunt; et Volsci Æquique afflictas vires suas in unum contulêre. Tertia illa pugna[54] eo anno fuit; eadem fortuna victoriam dedit; fusis hostibus, etiam castra capta.

IX. Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit; secundæque belli res extemplò urbanos motus excitaverunt. C. Terentillus Arsa tribunus plebis eo anno fuit. Is, consulibus absentibus, ratus locum tribuniciis actionibus datum, per aliquot dies Patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus, maximè in consulare imperium, tanquam

nimium, nec tolerabile liberæ civitati, invehebatur: "Nomine enim tantùm minùs invidiosum, re ipsâ propè "atrocius, quàm regium, esse. Quippe duos pro uno "domino acceptos, immoderatâ, infinitâ potestate; qui, "soluti atque effrænati[55] ipsi, omnes metus legum om-"niaque supplicia verterent in plebem. Quæ ne æterna "illis licentia sit, legem[56] se promulgaturum, ut quinque "viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis[57]. "Quod populus in se jus dederit, eo consulem usurum; "non ipsos libidinem ac licentiam suam pro lege habitu-"ros." Quâ promulgatâ lege, quum timerent Patres, ne, absentibus consulibus, jugum acciperent, senatus à præfecto urbis Q. Fabio vocatur; qui adeò atrociter in rogationem latoremque ipsum est invectus, ut nihil[58], si ambo consules infesti circumstarent tribunum, relictum minarum atque terroris sit: "Insidiatum eum, et, tem-"pore capto[59], adortum rempublicam. Si quem similem "ejus priore anno, inter morbum bellumque, irati dii "tribunum dedissent, non potuisse sisti[60]; mortuis du-"obus consulibus, jacente ægrâ civitate in colluvione "omnium rerum, ad tollendum è republicâ consulare "imperium laturum leges fuisse; ducem Volscis Æquis-"que ad oppugnandam urbem futurum. Quid tandem? "illi non licere, si quid consules superbè in aliquem "civium aut crudeliter fecerint, diem dicere? accusare "his ipsis judicibus, quorum in aliquem sævitum sit? "Non illud consulare[61] imperium, sed tribuniciam potes-"tatem invisam intolerandamque, facere; quam pacatam "reconciliatamque Patribus de integro in antiqua redigi "mala; neque illum se deprecari, quo minùs pergat, ut "cœperit. Vos," inquit Fabius, "ceteri tribuni, ora-"mus, ut primum omnium cogitetis potestatem istam "ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem universorum, "comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos creatos, non "hostes Patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis, "est desertam rempublicam invadi; non jus vestrum, "sed invidiam, minueritis. Agite cum collegâ, ut rem "integram in adventum consulum differat; ne Æqui[62] "quidem ac Volsci, morbo absumptis priore anno con-"sulibus, crudeli superboque nobis bello institêre."

Agunt cum Terentillo tribuni; dilatâque[63] in speciem actione, re ipsâ sublatâ, consules extemplò arcessiti.

X. Lucretius cum ingenti prædâ, majore multo gloriâ, rediit, et auget[64] gloriam adveniens, expositâ omni in campo Martio prædâ, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret; reliqua vendita, quibus domini non exstitêre. Debebatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus; sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente; id antiquius[65] consuli fuit. Jactata per aliquot dies quum in senatu res, tum ad populum, est; cessit ad ultimum majestati consulis tribunus, et destitit; tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus. Triumphavit de Volscis Æquisque; triumphantem secutæ suæ legiones; alteri consuli datum, ut ovans[66] sine militibus urbem iniret. Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilla, ab toto relata collegio, novos aggressa consules est; erant consules P. Volumnius, Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno cœlum ardere visum; terra ingenti concussa motu est; bovem locutam[67], cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carnem pluit[68]; quem imbrem ingens numerus avium intervolitando rapuisse fertur; quod intercidit, sparsum ita jacuisse per aliquot dies, ut nihil odor mutaret[69]. Libri[70] per duumviros sacrorum aditi; pericula à conventu alienigenarum prædicta, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus[71], cædesque indè, fierent; inter cætera monitum, ut seditionibus abstineretur. Id factum ad impediendam legem tribuni criminabantur, ingensque aderat certamen. Ecce (ut idem[72] in singulos annos orbis volveretur) Hernici nunciant Volscos et Æquos, etsi accisæ res sint, reficere exercitus; Antii summam rei positam; Ecetræ[73] Antiates colonos palam concilia facere; id caput, eas vires, belli esse. Ut hæc dicta in senatu sunt, delectus edicitur; consules belli administrationem inter se dispartiri jussi, alteri ut Volsci, alteri ut Æqui, provincia esset. Tribuni coram[74] in foro personare, "Fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos "ad partes paratos. Jam ne virtute quidem premi liber- "tatem populi Romani, sed arte eludi; quia[75] occidione "propè occisos Volscos et Æquos movere suâ sponte "arma posse jam fides abierit, novos hostes quæri; colo-

"niam fidam, propinquam, infamem fieri; bellum innoxiis Antiatibus indici, geri cum plebe Romanâ; quam, oneratam armis, ex urbe præcipiti agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione[76] civium ulciscentes tribunos. Sic, ne quid[77] aliud actum putent, victam legem esse; nisi, dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati, sint, caveant, ne possessione urbis pellantur, ne jugum accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium; consentire omnes tribunos; nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum, esse. Cavisse[78] deos priore anno, ut tutò libertas defendi posset." Hæc tribuni.

XI. At ex parte alterâ consules, in conspectu eorum positis sellis, delectum habebant. Eò decurrunt tribuni, concionemque secum trahunt; citati pauci, velut rei experiundæ causâ; et statim vis coorta[79]. Quemcunque lictor jussu consulis prehendisset, tribunus mitti jubebat; neque suum cuique jus[80] modum faciebat, sed virium spe et manu obtinendum erat, quod intenderes[81]. Quemadmodum se tribuni gessissent in prohibendo delectu, sic Patres in lege, quæ per omnes comitiales[82] dies ferebatur, impediendâ gerebant. Initium erat rixæ, quum discedere[83] populum jussissent tribuni, quòd Patres se submoveri[84] haud sinebant; nec ferè seniores rei intererant, quippe quæ non consilio regenda, sed permissa temeritati audaciæque esset. Multùm et consules se abstinebant[85], ne cui in colluvione rerum[86] majestatem suam contumeliæ offerrent. Kæso erat Quinctius ferox juvenis, quà nobilitate gentis, quà corporis magnitudine et viribus; ad ea munera, data à diis, et ipse addiderat multa belli decora, facundiamque in foro; ut nemo, non linguâ[87], non manu, promptior, in civitate haberetur. Hic, quum in medio Patrum agmine constitisset, eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque procellas sustinebat. Hoc duce, sæpe pulsi foro tribuni, fusa ac fugata plebs est; qui obvius fuerat, mulctatus nudatusque abibat; ut satìs appareret, si sic agi liceret, victam legem esse. Tum, propè jam perculsis aliis tribunis, A. Virginius, ex collegio unus, Kæsoni capitis diem[88] dicit; atrox ingenium accenderat eo facto magìs, quàm conterruerat: eo acriùs obstare legi, agitare ple-

bem, tribunos velut justo persequi bello. Accusator pati reum ruere, invidiæque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis[89] suggerere; legem interim, non tam ad spem perferendi, quàm ad lacessendam Kæsonis temeritatem, ferre. Ibi multa, sæpe ab juventute[90] inconsultè dicta factaque, in unius Kæsonis suspectum incidunt ingenium; tamen legi resistebatur. Et A. Virginius identidem plebi: "Ecquid sentitis jam vos, Quirites, "Kæsonem simul civem et legem, quam cupitis, habere "non posse? Quanquam quid ego legem loquor? liber- "tati obstat, omnes Tarquinios superbiâ exsuperat. "Exspectate, dum consul aut dictator fiat, quem priva- "tum viribus et audaciâ regnantem videtis." Assentiebantur multi, pulsatos se querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultrò incitabant.

XII. Jam aderat judicio dies, apparebatque vulgò homines in damnatione Kæsonis libertatem agi[91] credere. Tum demum coactus cum multâ indignitate[92] prensabat singulos; sequebantur necessarii, principes civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat, quum multa referret sua familiæque decora, affirmabat, "Neque in "Quinctiâ gente, neque in civitate Romanâ tantam "indolem tam maturæ virtutis unquam exstitisse. "Suum primum[93] militem fuisse; se sæpè vidente pug- "nâsse in hostem." Sp. Furius, "missum ab Quinctio "Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis rebus venisse sub- "sidio; neminem unum esse, cujus magìs operâ putet "rem restitutam[94]." L. Lucretius, consul anni prioris, recenti gloriâ nitens, suas laudes participare cum Kæsone, memorare pugnas, referre egregia facinora, nunc in expeditionibus, nunc in acie; suadere[95] et monere, "Juvenem egregium, instructum naturæ fortunæque "omnibus bonis, maximum momentum rerum ejus civi- "tatis, in quamcunque venisset, suum, quàm alienum, "mallent civem esse. Quod offendat in eo, fervorem et "audaciam, ætatem quotidie auferre; quod desideretur "consilium, id in dies crescere. Senescentibus vitiis[96], "maturescente virtute, sinerent tantum virum senem in "civitate fieri." Pater inter hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato cognomen erat, non iterando laudes, ne cumularet invidiam, sed veniam errori atque adolescentiæ

petendo, sibi, qui non dicto, non facto, quemquam offendisset, ut condonarent filium[97], orabat. Sed alii aversabantur[98] preces, aut verecundiâ, aut metu; alii, se suosque mulctatos querentes, atroci responso judicium suum præferebant[99].

XIII. Premebat reum, præter vulgatam invidiam, crimen unum: quòd M. Volscius Fictor, qui antè aliquot annos tribunus plebis fuerat, testis extiterat, "Se, haud "multo post quàm pestilentia in urbe fuerat, in juven- "tutem, grassantem[1] in Suburrâ, incidisse; ibi rixam "natam esse, fratremque suum majorem natu, necdum "ex morbo satìs validum, pugno ictum ab Kæsone, "cecidisse semianimem. Inter manus domum ablatum, "mortuumque indè arbitrari, nec sibi rem exsequi[2] tam "atrocem per consules superiorum annorum licuisse." Hæc Volscio clamitante, adeò concitati homines sunt, ut haud multum abfuerit, quin impetu populi Kæso interiret. Virginius arripi jubet hominem, et in vincula duci; patricii contrà vi resistunt. T. Quinctius clamitat, "Cui rei capitalis dies dicta[3] sit, et de quo futurum "propediem judicium, eum indemnatum indictâ causâ "non debere violari." Tribunus "supplicium" negat "sumpturum se de indemnato; servaturum tamen in "vinculis esse ad judicii diem, ut, qui hominem neca- "verit, de eo supplicii sumendi copia populo Romano "fiat." Appellati tribuni medio decreto jus auxilii sui expediunt[4]; in vincula conjici vetant; sisti reum[5] pecuniamque, nisi sistatur, populo promitti, placere pronunciant. Summam pecuniæ quantam æquum esset promitti, veniebat in dubium; id ad senatum rejicitur. Reus, dum consulerentur Patres, retentus in publico[6] est; vades dare placuit; unum vadem[7] tribus millibus æris obligârunt; quot darentur, permissum tribunis est; decem finierunt[8]; tot vadibus[9] accusator vadatus est reum. Hic primus vades publicos[10] dedit. Dimissus è foro nocte proximâ in Tuscos in exsilium abiit. Judicii die quum excusaretur[11] solum vertisse exsilii causâ, nihilo minùs, Virginio comitia habente, collegæ appellati demisêre consilium; pecunia[12] à patre exacta crudeliter, ut, divenditis omnibus bonis, aliquamdiu trans Tiberim, veluti relegatus, devio quodam tugurio viveret.

XIV. Hoc judicium et promulgata lex exercuit civitatem; ab externis armis otium fuit. Quum, velut victores, tribuni, perculsis Patribus Kæsonis exsilio, propè perlatam esse crederent legem, et, quod ad seniores Patrum pertineret, cessissent possessione reipublicæ[13], juniores, id maxime[14] quod Kæsonis sodalium fuit, auxêre iras in plebem, non minuerunt animos; sed ibi plurimum profectum est, quòd[15] modo quodam temperavêre impetus suos. Quum primò post Kæsonis exsilium lex cœpta ferri est, instructi paratique cum ingenti clientium exercitu, sic tribunos, ubi primùm submoventes[16] præbuêre causam, adorti sunt, ut nemo[17] unus indè præcipuum quicquam gloriæ domum invidiæve ferret; mille pro uno Kæsones exstitisse, plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus, quibus tribuni de lege non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius[18] aut quietius erat; benignè salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse[19] in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere; nunquam ulli, neque publicè, neque privatim, truces esse, nisi quum de lege agi cœptum esset. Alibi[20] popularis juventus erat; nec cetera modò tribuni tranquillò[21] peregêre, sed refecti quoque in insequentem annum; ne voce quidem[22] incommodâ, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paullatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerunt[23] plebem. His per totum annum artibus lex elusa est.

XV. Accipiunt civitatem placidiorem consules C. Claudius, Appii filius, et P. Valerius Publicola. Nihil novi novus annus attulerat; legis ferendæ[24] aut accipiendæ cura civitatem tenebat. Quantùm[25] juniores Patrum plebi se magìs insinuabant, eo acriùs contrà tribuni tendebant, ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent. "Conjurationem factam; Kæsonem Romæ "esse; interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandæ plebis, "consilia inita. Id negotii datum ab senioribus Patrum, "ut juventus tribunitiam potestatem è republicâ tolleret, "formaque eadem civitatis esset, quæ ante sacrum "montem occupatum fuerat." Et ab Volscis et Æquis statum[26] jam ac propè sollenne in singulos annos bellum timebatur; propiusque aliud novum malum necopinatò exortum. Exsules servique, ad quatuor millia hominum et quingenti[27], duce Ap. Herdonio Sabino, nocte Capito-

lium atque arcem occupavêre. Confestim in arce facta cædes eorum[28], qui conjurare et simul capere arma noluerant; alii inter tumultum præcipites pavore in forum devolant; alternæ voces, "Ad arma," et "Hostes "in urbe sunt," audiebantur. Consules et armare plebem, et inermem pati, timebant. Incerti, quod malum repentinum, externum an intestinum, ab odio plebis, an ab servili fraude, urbem invasisset, sedabant tumultus, sedando interdum movebant; nec enim poterat pavida et consternata multitudo regi imperio. Dant tamen arma, non vulgò; tantùm ut, incerto hoste[29], præsidium satìs fidum ad omnia esset. Solliciti reliquum noctis, incertique, qui homines, quantus numerus hostium esset, in stationibus disponendis ad opportuna[30] omnis urbis loca egêre. Lux deinde aperuit bellum ducemque belli. Servos ad libertatem Ap. Herdonius ex Capitolio vocabat: "Se miserrimi cujusque suscepisse "causam, ut exsules injuriâ pulsos in patriam reduceret, "et servitiis[31] grave jugum demeret. Id malle populo "Romano auctore fieri. Si ibi spes non sit, se Volscos, "et Æquos, et omnia extrema, tentaturum et concitaturum."

XVI. Dilucere res magìs Patribus atque consulibus; præter ea tamen, quæ denunciabantur, ne Vejentium, neu Sabinorum, id consilium esset, timere; et, quum tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinæ Etruscæque legiones ex composito adessent; tum æterni hostes Volsci et Æqui, non ad populandos, ut antè, fines, sed urbem, ut ex parte captam, venirent[32]. Multi et varii timores; inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis, ne suus cuique domi hostis esset; cui nec credere[33], nec non credendo, ne infestior fieret, fidem abrogare, satìs erat tutum. Vixque concordiâ sisti[34] videbatur posse. Tantùm superantibus aliis ac emergentibus[35] malis, nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat; mansuetum id malum, et per aliorum quietem malorum semper exoriens, tumque esse peregrino terrore sopitum videbatur. At id propè[36] unum maximè inclinatis rebus incubuit; tantus enim tribunos furor tenuit, ut non bellum, sed vanam imaginem belli, ad avertendos ab legis curâ plebis animos, Capitolium insedisse contenderent; patriciorum[37] hospites clien-

tesque, si perlatâ lege frustra tumultuatos esse se sentiant, majore, quàm venerint, silentio abituros. Concilium indè legi perferendæ habere, avocato populo ab armis. Senatum interim consules habent, alio se majore ab tribunis metu ostendente, quàm quem nocturnus hostis intulerat.

XVII. Postquam arma poni, et discedere homines ab stationibus, nunciatum est, P. Valerius, collegâ senatum retinente, se ex curiâ proripit, indè in templum[38] ad tribunos venit: "Quid hoc rei est," inquit, "tribuni? "Ap. Herdonii ductu et auspicio rempublicam eversuri "estis? Tam felix vobis corrumpendis fuit, qui servitia "vestra non commovit auctor? Quum hostes supra ca-"put sint, discedi ab armis, legesque ferri, placet?" Inde ad multitudinem oratione versâ: "Si vos urbis, Qui-"rites, si vestrî nulla cura tangit, at vos veremini deos "vestros, ab hostibus captos. Jupiter optimus[39] maxi-"mus, Juno regina, et Minerva, alii dii deæque obsi-"dentur; castra servorum publicos vestros penates tenent. "Hæc vobis forma sanæ civitatis videtur? Tantum "hostium[40] non solùm intra muros est, sed in arce supra "forum curiamque. Comitia interim in foro sunt; "senatus in curiâ est; velut quum otium superat[41], "senator sententiam dicit; alii Quirites suffragium "ineunt. Non quicquid Patrum[42] plebisque est, con-"sules, tribunos, deos, hominesque omnes armatos, "opem ferre, in Capitolium currere, liberare ac pacare "augustissimam illam domum Jovis optimi maximi "decuit? Romule pater, tu mentem tuam, quâ quon-"dam arcem, ab his iisdem Sabinis auro captam, rece-"pisti, da stirpi tuæ; jube hanc ingredi viam, quam "tuus ingressus exercitus est. Primus, en, ego consul, "quantùm mortalis deum possum, te ac tua vestigia "sequar." Ultimum orationis fuit, "Se arma capere, "vocare omnes Quirites ad arma; si quis impediat, jam "se consularis imperii[43], jam tribuniciæ potestatis sacra-"tarumque legum, oblitum, quisquis ille sit, ubicunque "sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste habiturum. Jube-"rent tribuni, quoniam in Ap. Herdonium vetarent, in "P. Valerium consulem sumi arma; ausurum se in "tribunis, quod princeps[44] familiæ suæ ausus in regibus

"esset." Vim ultimam apparebat futuram, spectaculoque seditionem Romanam hostibus fore; nec lex tamen ferri, nec ire in Capitolium consul potuit; nox certamina cœpta oppressit; tribuni cessêre nocti, timentes consulum arma. Amotis indè seditionis auctoribus, Patres circumire plebem, inferentesque se in circulos, sermones tempori aptos serere: admonere, "Ut viderent, in quod "discrimen rempublicam adducerent. Non inter Patres "ac plebem certamen esse; sed simul Patres plebemque, "arcem urbis, templa deorum, penates publicos priva-"tosque, hostibus dedi." Dum hæc in foro sedandæ discordiæ causâ aguntur, consules interim, ne Sabini, ne Vejens hostis moveretur, circa portas murosque discesserant.

XVIII. Eâdem nocte et Tusculum de arce captâ, Capitolioque occupato, et alio turbatæ urbis statu, nuncii veniunt. L. Mamilius[45] Tusculi tum dictator erat. Is, confestim convocato senatu, atque introductis nunciis, magno opere censet[46], "Ne exspectent, dum ab Româ "legati, auxilium petentes, veniant; periculum ipsum "discrimenque[47], ac sociales deos[48], fidemque fœderum, "id poscere. Demerendi beneficio tam potentem, tam "propinquam civitatem, nunquam parem occasionem "daturos deos." Placet ferri auxilium; juventus conscribitur, arma dantur. Romam primâ luce venientes, procul speciem hostium præbuêre. Æqui aut Volsci venire visi sunt; deinde, ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem, agmine in forum descendunt.[49] Ibi jam P. Valerius, relicto ad portarum præsidia[50] collegâ, instruebat aciem. Auctoritas viri moverat, affirmantis, "Capi-"tolio recuperato, et urbe pacatâ, si edoceri[51] se sîssent, "quæ fraus ab tribunis occulta in lege ferretur, memo-"rem se majorum suorum, memorem cognominis, quòd "populi colendi velut hereditaria cura sibi à majoribus[52] "tradita esset, concilium plebis non impediturum." Hunc ducem secuti, nequicquam reclamantibus tribunis, in clivum Capitolinum erigunt aciem[53]. Adjungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii civesque, utri recuperatæ arcis suum decus facerent; dux uterque suos adhortatur. Trepidare tum hostes, nec ulli satìs rei, præterquam loco[54], fidere; trepidantibus inferunt signa Romani socii-

que. Jam in vestibulum perruperant templi, quum P. Valerius, inter primores pugnam ciens, interficitur. P. Volumnius consularis vidit cadentem. Is, dato negotio suis, ut corpus obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat. Præ ardore impetuque, tantæ rei sensus non pervenit ad militem; priùs vicit, quàm se pugnare sine duce sentiret. Multi exulum cæde suâ fœdavêre templum; multi vivi capti; Herdonius interfectus. Ita Capitolium recuperatum. De captivis, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suæ fortunæ[55] à quoque sumptum supplicium est. Tusculanis gratiæ actæ; Capitolium purgatum atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes quadrantes[56], ut funere ampliore efferretur, jactâsse fertur.

XIX. Pace partâ, instare tum tribuni Patribus, "Ut "P. Valerii fidem exsolverent[57]." Instare Claudio, "Ut "collegæ deos manes fraude liberaret[58], agi de lege "sineret." Consul, "antequam collegam sibi subrogâs-"set," negare, "passurum agi de lege." Hæ tenuêre contentiones[59] usque ad comitia consulis subrogandi. Decembri mense, summo Patrum studio, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, pater Kæsonis, consul creatur, qui magistratum statim occiperet. Perculsa erat plebes, consulem habitura iratum, potentem favore Patrum, virtute suâ, tribus liberis, quorum nemo Kæsoni cedebat magnitudine animi; consilium et modum adhibendo, ubi res posceret, priores erant. Is, ut magistratum iniit, assiduis concionibus pro tribunali, non in plebe coërcendâ, quàm senatu castigando, vehementior fuit: "Cujus ordinis languore "perpetui jam tribuni[60] plebis, non ut in republicâ "populi Romani, sed ut in perditâ domo, linguâ crimini-"busque regnarent. Cum Kæsone filio suo virtutem, "constantiam, omnia juventutis belli domique decora, "pulsa ex urbe Romanâ et fugata esse; loquaces, sedi-"tiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac tertiùm[61] tribu-"nos pessimis artibus, regiâ licentiâ vivere. A." inquit, "ille Virginius, quia in Capitolio non fuit, minùs sup-"plicii, quàm Ap. Herdonius, meruit? plus herculè "aliquanto, qui verè rem æstimare velit. Herdonius, si "nihil aliud, hostem se fatendo propè denunciavit, ut "arma caperetis; hic, negando bella esse, arma vobis

"ademit, nudosque servis vestris et exsulibus objecit. "Et vos (C. Claudii pace[62], et P. Valerii mortui, loquar) "priùs[63] in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis, quàm "hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet[64] deorum homi-"numque; quum hostes in arce, in Capitolio, essent, "exsulum et servorum dux, profanatis omnibus, in "cellâ[65] Jovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi antè, "quàm Romæ, sumpta sunt arma. In dubio fuit, utràm "L. Mamilius Tusculanus dux, an P. Valerius et C. "Claudius consules, Romanam arcem liberarent; et, qui "antè[66] Latinos, ne pro se quidem ipsis, quum in finibus "hostem haberent, attingere arma passi sumus, nunc, "nisi Latini suâ sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti "eramus. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi ferre, iner-"mem eam hosti trucidandam objicere? Scilicet, si "quis vobis humillimus homo de vestrâ plebe, (quam "partem, velut abruptam à cetero populo, vestram "patriam peculiaremque rempublicam fecistis) si quis ex "his domum suam obsessam à familiâ armatâ[67] nunciaret, "ferendum auxilium putaretis. Jupiter optimus maxi-"mus, exsulum atque servorum septus armis, nullâ "humanâ ope dignus erat? et hi postulant, ut sacro-"sancti habeantur, quibus ipsi dii neque sacri, neque "sancti[68], sunt? At enim, divinis[69] humanisque obruti "sceleribus, legem vos hoc anno perlaturos dictitatis? "Tum Hercule illo die, quo ego consul sum creatus, malè "gesta respublica est, pejùs multo, quàm quum P. "Valerius consul periit, si tuleritis[70]. Jam primum "omnium," inquit, "Quirites, in Volscos et Æquos "mihi atque collegæ legiones ducere in animo est. "Nescio quo[71] fato magìs bellantes, quàm pacati, pro-"pitios habemus deos; quantum periculum ab illis "populis fuerit, si Capitolium ab exsulibus obsessum "scîssent, suspicari de præterito, quàm re ipsâ experiri, "est melius."

XX. Moverat plebem oratio consulis; erecti Patres restitutam credebant rempublicam; consul alter, comes animosior, quàm auctor, suscepisse collegam priorem actionem tam gravis rei facilè passus, in peragendis[72] consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat. Tum tribuni, eludentes velut vana dicta, persequi quærendo[73], "quo-

"nam modo exercitum educturi consules essent, quos "delectum habere nemo passurus esset? Nobis verò," inquit Quinctius, "nihil delectu opus est, quum, quo "tempore P. Valerius ad recipiendum Capitolium arma "plebi dedit, omnes in verba juraverint, conventuros se "jussu consulis, nec injussu abituros. Edicimus itaque, "omnes, qui in verba jurâstis, crastinâ die armati ad "lacum Regillum adsitis." Cavillari tum tribuni, et populum exsolvere religione[74] velle: "Privatum eo tempore "Quinctium fuisse, quum sacramento adacti sint." Sed nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet seculum, negligentia deûm venerat; nec interpretando sibi quisque jusjurandum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potiùs mores ad ea accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impediendæ rei nulla spes erat, de proferendo exercitu[75] agere; eo magìs quòd, "et augures jussos adesse ad Regillum lacum," fama exierat[76], "locumque inaugurari, ubi auspicatò cum "populo agi posset, ut quicquid Romæ vi tribuniciâ "rogatum[77] esset, id comitiis ibi abrogaretur. Omnes id "jussuros, quod consules vellent; neque enim provoca-"tionem esse longiùs ab urbe mille passuum; et tribu-"nos, si eò adveniant, in aliâ turbâ Quiritium subjectos "fore consulari imperio." Terrebant hæc; sed ille maximus terror animos agitabat, quòd sæpius Quinctius dictitabat, "Se consulum comitia non habiturum. Non "ita civitatem ægram esse[78], ut consuetis remediis sisti "possit; dictatore opus esse reipublicæ, ut, qui se "moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis, sentiat, sine "provocatione dictaturam esse."

XXI. Senatus in Capitolio erat; eò tribuni cum perturbatâ plebe veniunt; multitudo clamore ingenti, nunc consulum, nunc Patrum, fidem implorant; nec antè moverunt[79] de sententiâ consulem, quàm tribuni se in auctoritate Patrum futuros esse polliciti sunt. Tunc, referente consule de tribunorum et plebis postulatis, senatûsconsulta fiunt, "Neque tribuni legem eo anno "ferrent, neque consules ab urbe exercitum educerent. "In reliquum[80], magistratus continuari, et eosdem tribu-"nos refici, judicare senatum contra rempublicam esse." Consules fuêre in Patrum potestate[81]; tribuni, reclamantibus consulibus, refecti. Patres quoque, ne quid

cederent plebi, et ipsi L. Quinctium consulem reficiebant[82]. Nulla toto anno vehementior actio[83] consulis fuit. "Mirer," inquit, "si vana vestra, Patres Con-"scripti, auctoritas ad plebem est? Vos elevatis[84] eam; "quippe, quia plebs senatûsconsultum in continuandis "magistratibus solvit, ipsi quoque solutum vultis, ne "temeritati[85] multitudinis cedatis, tanquam id sit plus "posse in civitate, plus levitatis ac licentiæ habere; "levius enim vaniusque profectò est, sua decreta et con-"sulta tollere, quàm aliorum. Imitamini, Patres Con-"scripti, turbam inconsultam; et, qui exemplo aliis esse "debetis, aliorum exemplo[86] peccetis potiùs, quàm alii "vestro rectè faciant, dum ego ne[87] imiter tribunos, "nec me contra senatûsconsultum consulem renunciari "patiar. Te verò, C. Claudi, adhortor, ut et ipse popu-"lum Romanum hâc licentiâ arceas; et de me hoc tibi "persuadeas, me ita accepturum, ut non honorem meum "à te impeditum, sed gloriam[88] spreti honoris auctam, "invidiamque, quæ ex continuato eo impenderet, leva-"tam, putem." Communiter indè edicunt[89], "Ne quis "L. Quinctium consulem faceret; si quis fecisset, se id "suffragium non observaturos."

XXII. Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertiùm[90], et L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Census actus eo anno; lustrum, propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum, condi religiosum[91] fuit. Q. Fabio, L. Cornelio consulibus, principio anni statim res turbulentæ. Instigabant plebem tribuni. Bellum ingens à Volscis et Æquis Latini atque Hernici nunciabant: jam Antii Volscorum legiones esse; et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defecturam; ægréque impetratum à tribunis, ut bellum præverti[92] sinerent. Consules indè partiti provincias. Fabio, ut Antium legiones duceret, datum; Cornelio, ut Romæ præsidio esset, ne qua pars hostium, qui Æquis mos erat, ad populandum veniret. Hernici et Latini jussi milites dare ex fœdere; duæque partes[93] sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium fuit. Postquam ad diem præstitutum venerunt socii, consul extra portam Capenam castra locat. Indè, lustrato exercitu, Antium profectus, haud procul oppido stativisque hostium consedit. Ubi quum Volsci, quia nondum ab Æquis venisset exercitus,

dimicare non ausi, quemadmodum quieti vallo se tutarentur, pararent, postero die Fabius, non permixtam unam sociorum civiumque, sed trium populorum tres separatim acies, circa vallum hostium instruxit. Ipse erat medius cum legionibus Romanis; indè signum observare jussit[94], ut pariter et socii[95] rem inciperent, referrentque pedem, si receptui cecinisset; equites item suæ cuique parti[96] post principia collocat. Ita trifariàm adortus castra circumvenit; et, quum undique instaret, non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones, pavidam turbam inclinatamque in partem unam castris expellit. Indè effusè fugientes eques, cui superare vallum haud facile fuerat, quum ad id spectator pugnæ adstitisset, libero campo adeptus, parte victoriæ fruitur territos cædendo. Magna et in castris et extra munimenta cædes fugientium fuit; sed præda major, quia vix arma secum efferre hostis potuit; deletusque exercitus foret, ni fugientes sylvæ texissent.

XXIII. Dum ad Antium hæc geruntur, interim Æqui, robore juventutis præmisso, arcem Tusculanam improvisò nocte capiunt. Reliquo exercitu haud procul mœnibus Tusculi considunt, ut distenderent[97] hostium copias. Hæc celeriter Romam, ab Româ in castra Antium, perlata, movent Romanos haud secus, quàm si Capitolium captum nunciaretur; adeò et recens erat Tusculanorum meritum, et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium videbatur. Fabius, omissis omnibus, prædam ex castris raptim Antium convehit. Ibi modico præsidio relicto, citatum agmen Tusculum rapit[98]; nihil, præter arma, et quod cocti[99] ad manum fuit cibi, ferre militi licuit. Commeatum ab Româ consul Cornelius subvehit; aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum; parte exercitûs consul castra Æquorum oppugnabat; partem Tusculanis dederat ad arcem recuperandam. Vi nunquam[1] eò subiri potuit; fames postremò indè detraxit hostem. Quò postquam[2] ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub jugum ab Tusculanis missi. Hos ignominiosâ fugâ domum se recipientes, Romanus consul in Algido consecutus ad unum omnes occidit. Victor ad Columen (id loco nomen est) exercitu relicto[3] castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam mœnibus jam Romanis,

pulso hoste, periculum esse[4] desierat, et ipse ab Româ profectus. Ita bifariàm consules ingressi hostium fines, ingenti certamine[5] hinc Volscos, hinc Æquos, populantur. Eodem anno descîsse Antiates apud plerosque auctores invenio; L. Cornelium consulem id bellum gessisse, oppidumque cepisse. Certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores ejus rei mentio est, non ausim.

XXIV. Hoc bello perfecto, tribunitium domi bellum Patres territat. Clamant, "fraude fieri, quòd foris "teneatur exercitus; frustrationem eam[6] legis tollendæ "esse; nihilominus rem susceptam peracturos." Obtinuit tamen P. Lucretius[7] præfectus urbis, ut actiones tribuniciæ in adventum consulum differrentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motûs. A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius quæstores M. Volscio, quòd falsus haud dubiè testis in Kæsonem exstitisset, diem dixerant; multis enim emanabat[8] indiciis, neque fratrem Volscii, ex quo semel fuerit æger, unquam non modò visum in publico, sed ne assurrexisse quidem ex morbo, multorumque tabe mensium mortuum; nec his temporibus, in quæ testis crimen conjecisset, Kæsonem Romæ visum, affirmantibus, qui unà[9] meruerant, secum eum tum frequentem ad signa sine ullo commeatu fuisse. Ni ita esset, multi privatim ferebant Volscio judices[10]. Quum ad judicium ire non auderet, omnes eæ res, in unum congruentes, haud magìs dubiam damnationem Volscii, quàm Kæsonis Volscio[11] teste fuerat, faciebant. In morâ tribuni erant, qui comitia quæstores habere de reo, nisi priùs habita de lege essent, passuros negabant; ita extracta utraque res in consulum adventum est. Qui ubi triumphantes victore cum exercitu urbem inierunt, quia silentium de lege erat, perculsos magna pars credebant tribunos. At illi, (etenim extremum anni jam erat,) quartum affectantes tribunatum, in comitiorum disceptationem[12] ab lege certamen averterant; et, quum consules nihilominùs adversùs continuationem tribunatûs, quàm si lex minuendæ suæ majestatis causâ promulgata ferretur, tetendissent, victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit. Eodem anno Æquis pax est petentibus data. Census, res priore anno inchoata, perficitur; idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum. Fuerunt censa civium capita

centum septemdecim millia trecenta novemdecim. Consulum magna domi bellique eo anno gloria fuit, quòd et foris pacem peperêre, et domi, etsi non concors, minùs tamen quàm aliàs infesta[13], civitas fuit.

XXV. L. Minucius indè et C. Nautius consules facti, duas residuas[14] anni prioris causas exceperunt. Eodem modo consules legem, tribuni judicium de Volscio, impediebant: sed in quæstoribus novis major vis, major auctoritas, erat. Cum M. Valerio, Valerii filio[15], Volesi nepote, quæstor erat T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat. Is, quoniam neque Quinctiæ familiæ Kæso, neque reipublicæ maximus[16] juvenum, restitui posset, falsum testem, qui dicendæ causæ innoxio potestatem ademisset, justo ac pio bello[17] persequebatur. Quum Virginius maximè et tribuni[18] de lege agerent, duûm mensium spatium consulibus datum est ad inspiciendam legem, ut, quum edocuissent[19] populum quid fraudis occultæ ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli datum res tranquillas in urbe fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Æqui dederunt; qui, rupto fœdere, quod ictum erat priore anno cum Romanis, imperium ad Gracchum Clœlium deferunt; is tum longè princeps in Æquis erat. Graccho duce, in Lavicanum agrum[20], inde in Tusculanum, hostili populatione veniunt, plenique prædæ in Algido castra locant. In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volumnius, A. Postumius, legati ab Româ venerunt questum injurias, et ex fœdere res repetitum; eos Æquorum imperator, "quæ mandata habeant ab senatu "Romano, ad quercum" jubet "dicere; se alia[21] interim "acturum." Quercus, ingens arbor, prætorio imminebat, cujus umbrâ opaca sedes erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens, "Et hæc," inquit, "sacrata quercus, et "quidquid deorum est, audiant fœdus à vobis ruptum; "nostrisque et nunc querelis adsint, et mox armis, "quum deorum hominumque simul violata jura exse-"quemur[22]." Romam ut rediêre legati, senatus jussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidum exercitum ducere; alteri populationem finium Æquorum provinciam dedit[23]. Tribuni suo more impedire delectum; et forsitan ad ultimum impedîssent; sed novus subitò additus terror est.

XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens propè ad mœnia urbis infestâ populatione venit; fœdati agri, terror injectus urbi est. Tum plebs benignè arma cepit; reclamantibus frustra tribunis, magni duo exercitus scripti; alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit; castrisque ad Eretum positis, per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut, comparati[24] ad eam, propè intacti bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem[25] in gerendo negotio fuit; nam, quum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nullâ magnopere clade acceptâ, castris se pavidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia; et, nocte adorti castra, postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant[26]; quæ priusquam, undique vallo objecto[27], clauderent exitus, quinque equites, inter stationes hostium emissi, Romam pertulêre[27*], consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil nec tam inopinatum, nec tam insperatum, accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio, fuit, quanta[28], si urbem, non castra, hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt, in quo quum parum præsidii videretur, dictatoremque dici placeret, qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur. Operæ pretium[29] est audire, qui omnia præ divitiis humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum neque virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effusè affluant opes[30]. Spes unica imperii populi Romani L. Quinctius trans Tiberim[31], contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt, quatuor jugerum colebat agrum, quæ prata Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palæ innisus, seu quum araret[32], operi certè, id quod constat, agresti intentus, salute datâ invicem redditâque, rogatus, "ut, quod bene verteret ipsi reique "publicæ, togatus[33] mandata senatûs audiret," admiratus, rogitansque, "satin' salva essent omnia?" togam propere è tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam jubet. Quâ simul, absterso pulvere ac sudore, velatus processit; dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant; in urbem vocant; qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt. Navis Quinctio publicè parata fuit; transvectumque tres obviàm egressi[34] filii excipiunt; indè alii propinqui atque amici;

tum Patrum major pars. Eâ frequentiâ stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum[35]; et plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam[36] tam læta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium, et virum in ipso imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illâ quidem nocte nihil præterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

XXVII. Postero die dictator, quum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium patriciæ gentis, sed qui, quum stipendia pedibus[37] propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longè Romanæ juventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in concionem venit, justitium edicit, claudi tabernas totâ urbe jubet, vetat quemquam privatæ quidquam rei agere. Tum, quicunque ætate militari essent, armati, cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque[38] duodenis, ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus ætas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere, jussit. Sic juventus discurrit ad vallum petendum; sumpsêre, unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo est; impigréque omnes ad edictum dictatoris præstò fuêre. Indè, composito agmine, non itineri magìs apti[39], quàm prælio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites, ducit[40]. In utroque agmine, quas tempus ipsum poscebat, adhortationes erant: "Adderent "gradum; maturato opus esse[41], ut nocte ad hostem "pervenire possent; consulem exercitumque Romanum "obsideri; tertium diem jam clausos esse; quid quæque "nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto sæpe tem-"poris maximarum rerum momenta verti[42]." "Accelera, "signifer; sequere, miles," inter se quoque, gratificantes ducibus, clamabant[43]. Mediâ nocte in Algidum perveniunt, et, ut sensêre se jam prope hostes esse, signa consituunt.

XXVIII. Ibi dictator, quantùm nocte prospici poterat, equo circumvectus, contemplatusque[44], qui tractus castrorum, quæque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit, ut sarcinas in unum conjici jubeant, militem cum armis valloque[45] redire in ordines suos. Facta, quæ imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in viâ, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat[46] hostium castris; et, ubi signum

datum sit, clamorem omnes tollere jubet; clamore sublato, ante se quemque ducere fossam, et jacere vallum[47]. Edito imperio, signum secutum est; jussa miles exsequitur; clamor hostes circumsonat. Superat[48] indè castra hostium, et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem[49], alibi gaudium ingens, facit. Romani, "civilem "esse clamorem[50], atque auxilium adesse," inter se gratulantes, ultrò[51] ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum[52] negat. "Illo clamore "non adventum modò significari, sed rem ab suis cœp-"tam; mirumque esse, ni jam exteriore parte castra "hostium oppugnentur." Itaque arma suos capere, et se subsequi jubet. Nocte initum prœlium est à legionibus[53]; dictatori clamore significant, ab eâ quoque parte rem in discrimine[54] esse. Jam se ad prohibenda circumdari[55] opera Æqui parabant, quum, ab interiore hoste prœlio cœpto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, à munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum[56] versi, vacuam noctem operi dedêre, pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce primâ jam circumvallati ab dictatore erant, et vix adversùs unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum à Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim à perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum[57]; hîc instabat nova pugna; illa nihil remiserat prior[58]. Tum, ancipiti malo urgente, à prœlio ad preces versi, hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem, orare, ne in occidione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad dictatorem ire jussis, ignominiam infensus[59] addidit. Gracchum Clœlium ducem principesque alios vinctos ad se adduci jubet; oppido Corbione decedi[60]; "sanguinis "se Æquorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut expri-"matur tandem confessio subactam domitamque esse "gentem, sub jugum abituros." Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversà unâ deligatâ; sub hoc jugo dictator Æquos misit.

XXIX. Castris hostium receptis, plenis omnium rerum, (nudos enim emiserat) prædam omnem suo tantùm militi dedit. Consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans, "Carebis," inquit, "prædæ parte, "miles, ex eo hoste, cui propè prædæ fuisti[61]; et tu, L. "Minuci, donec consularem animum[62] incipias habere,

"legatus his legionibus præeris." Ita Minucius abdicat consulatu, jussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeò tum imperio meliori animus mansuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magìs, quàm ignominiæ, hic exercitus memor, et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo[63] decreverit, et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit. Romæ à Q. Fabio præfecto urbis senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium, quo veniebat agmine[64], urbem ingredi jussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces; militaria signa prælata; secutus exercitus prædâ onustus. Epulæ instructæ dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domos; epulantesque[65] cum carmine triumphali et sollennibus jocis, commissantium modo, currum secuti sunt. Eo die L. Mamilio[66] Tusculano, approbantibus cunctis, civitas data est. Confestim se dictator magistratu abdicâsset, ni comitia M. Volscii falsi testis tenuissent; ea ne impedirent tribuni, dictatoris obstitit metus. Volscius damnatus Lanuvium in exsilium abiit. Quinctius sexto decimo die dictaturâ, in sex menses acceptâ, se abdicavit. Per eos dies consul Nautius ad Eretum cum Sabinis egregiè pugnat; ad vastatos agros[67] ea quoque clades accessit Sabinis. Minucio Fabius Quintus successor in Algidum missus. Extremo anno agitatum de lege ab tribunis est; sed, quia duo exercitus aberant, ne quid ferretur ad populum, Patres tenuêre. Plebes vicit, ut quintùm eosdem tribunos crearent. Lupos visos in Capitolio ferunt à canibus fugatos; ob id prodigium[68] lustratum Capitolium esse. Hæc eo anno gesta.

XXX. Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius, C. Horatius Pulvillus. Cujus initio anni, quum foris otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tribuni, eadem lex, faciebat[69]; ulteriùsque ventum foret, (adeò exarserant animis) ni, velut deditâ operâ[70], nocturno impetu Æquorum Corbione amissum præsidium nunciatum esset. Senatum consules vocant; jubentur subitarium scribere exercitum, atque in Algidum ducere. Indè, posito legis certamine, nova de delectu contentio orta; vincebaturque[71] consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio, quum alius additur terror, Sabinum exercitum prædatum descendisse in agros Romanos, indè ad urbem venire. Is metus perpulit, ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent, non sine pactione tamen,

ut, quoniam ipsi quinquennium elusi essent, parvumque id plebi præsidium foret, decem deinde tribuni[72] plebis crearentur. Expressit hoc necessitas Patribus; id modò excepêre, ne postea eosdem tribunos[73] juberent[74]. Tribunicia comitia (ne id quoque post bellum, ut cetera, vanum esset) extemplò habita. Tricesimo sexto anno[75] à primis tribunis plebis, decem creati sunt, bini ex singulis classibus[76]; itáque[77] cautum est, ut postea crearentur. Delectu deinde habito, Minucius, contra Sabinos profectus, non invenit hostem. Horatius, quum jam Æqui, Corbione interfecto præsidio, Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido pugnat; multos mortales occidit; fugat hostem non ex Algido modò, sed à Corbione Ortonâque. Corbionem etiam diruit propter proditum præsidium[78].

XXXI. Deinde M. Valerius, Sp. Virginius consules facti. Domi forisque otium fuit; annonâ propter aquarum[79] intemperiem laboratum est. De Aventino publicando[80] lata lex est. Tribuni plebis iidem refecti sequente anno, T. Romilio, C. Veturio consulibus, legem omnibus concionibus suis celebrabant[81]. "Pudere se "numeri sui nequicquam aucti, si ea res æquè suo "biennio jaceret, ac toto superiore lustro jacuisset." Quum maximè hæc agerent, trepidi nuncii ab Tusculo veniunt, Æquos in agro Tusculano esse. Fecit pudorem recens ejus populi meritum morandi auxilii; ambo consules, cum exercitu missi, hostem in suâ[82] sede in Algido inveniunt. Ibi pugnatum; supra septem millia hostium cæsa; alii fugati; præda parta ingens. Eam propter inopiam ærarii consules vendiderunt. Invidiæ tamen[83] res ad exercitum fuit. Ea denique tribunis materiam criminandi ad plebem consules præbuit. Itaque ergo[84], ut magistratu abiêre, Sp. Tarpeio, A. Aterio consulibus, dies dicta est Romilio ab C. Claudio Cicerone, tribuno plebis; Veturio ab L. Alieno, ædile plebis. Uterque magnâ Patrum indignatione damnatus, Romilius decem millibus æris, Veturius quindecim. Nec hæc priorum calamitas consulum segniores novos fecerat consules; "et se damnari posse" aiebant: "et plebem et tribunos "legem ferre non posse." Tum, abjectâ lege, quæ promulgata consenuerat, tribuni leniùs agere cum Patribus.

"Finem tandem certaminum facerent. Si plebeiæ leges "displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores, et ex "plebe, et ex Patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent, quæ- "que æquandæ libertatis essent[85], sinerent creari." Rem non aspernabantur Patres; "daturum leges[86] neminem, "nisi ex Patribus," aiebant. Quum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantùm discreparet. Missi legati[87] Athenas Sp. Posthumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus; jussique inclytas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores, juraque, noscere.

XXXII. Ab externis bellis quietus annus fuit; quietior insequens, P. Curiatio et Sex. Quinctilio consulibus, perpetuo silentio tribunorum; quod primò legatorum, qui Athenas ierant, legumque peregrinarum, exspectatio præbuit; dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pestilentiaque, fœda homini, fœda pecori. Vastati agri sunt; urbs assiduis exhausta funeribus; multæ et claræ lugubres[88] domus. Flamen Quirinalis Ser. Cornelius mortuus; augur C. Horatius Pulvillus; in cujus locum C. Veturium eo cupidiùs, quia damnatus à plebe erat, augures legere. Mortuus consul Quinctilius; quatuor tribuni plebis. Multiplici clade fœdatus annus; ab hoste otium fuit. Inde consules C. Menenius, P. Sestius Capitolinus. Neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit; domi motus orti. Jam redierant legati cum Atticis legibus; eo intentiùs[89] instabant tribuni, ut tandem scribendarum legum initium fieret. Placet creari decemviros sine provocatione, et ne quis eo anno alius magistratus esset. Admiscerenturne plebeii, controversia aliquamdiu fuit; postremò concessum Patribus, modò ne lex Icilia[90] de Aventino, aliæque sacratæ leges[91], abrogarentur.

XXXIII. Anno trecentesimo altero[92], quàm condita Roma erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis; ab consulibus ad decemviros, quemadmodum ab regibus antè ad consules, venerat, translato imperio. Minùs insignis, quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit; læta enim principia magistratûs ejus nimìs luxuriavêre[93]. Eo citiùs lapsa res est, repetitumque[94], duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Ser.

Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus; et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quòd eam rem, collegâ invito, ad Patres retulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres, qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinquâ præmio esset honos, simul quia peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova jura usui fore credebant. Supplevêre ceteri numerum. Graves quoque ætate[95] electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minùs ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen totius magistratûs penès Appium erat favore plebis; adeòque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repentè omnisque auræ popularis captator[96] evaderet, pro truci sævoque insectatore plebis. Decimo die[97] jus populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penès præfectum juris[98] fasces duodecim erant; collegis novem[99] singuli accensi apparebant; et in unicâ concordiâ[1] inter ipsos (qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis esset,) summa adversùs alios æquitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notâsse satìs erit. Quum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere[2] domi apud P. Sestium, patriciæ gentis virum, invento, prolatoque in concionem, in re juxtà manifestâ atque atroci C. Julius decemvir diem Sestio dixit, et accusator ad populum exstitit, cujus rei[3] judex legitimus erat; decessitque jure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratûs populi libertati adjiceret.

XXXIV. Quum promptum hoc jus[4] velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab his summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum exspectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad concionem advocaverunt; et, "quod bonum, faustum, felix-"que reipublicæ, ipsis, liberisque eorum, esset, ire et "legere leges propositas" jussêre; "se, quantùm "decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus "summis infimisque jura æquâsse; plus pollere multo-"rum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in animis secum "unamquamque rem; agitarent deinde sermonibus; atque "in medium[5], quid in quâque re plus minusve esset, "conferrent. Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, "quas consensus omnium[6] non jussisse latas magìs,

"quàm tulisse, videri posset." Quum ad rumores[7] hominum de unoquoque legum capite edito satìs correctæ viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatæ sunt; qui nunc quoque, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris. Vulgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas; quibus adjectis, absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani juris. Ea exspectatio, quum dies comitiorum appropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. Jam plebs, præterquam quòd consulum nomen, haud secus quàm regum, perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium, cedentibus invicem[8] appellatione decemviris, quærebat.

XXXV. Postquam verò comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum[9] indicata sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque civitatis (metu, credo, ne tanti possessio imperii, vacuo ab se relicto loco, haud satìs dignis pateret) prensarent homines, honorem, summâ ope à se impugnatum[10], ab eâ plebe, cum quâ contenderant, suppliciter petentes. Demissa jam in discrimen[11] dignitas, eâ ætate, iisque honoribus actis, stimulabat Ap. Claudium; nescires utrùm inter decemviros, an inter candidatos, numerares. Propior interdum petendo[12], quàm gerendo, magistratui erat; criminari optimates[13]; extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque. Ipse medius inter tribunicios Duilios Iciliosque in foro volitare; per illos se plebi venditare; donec collegæ quoque, qui unicè illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, conjecêre in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet. Apparere nihil sinceri esse. "Profectò haud gratuitam[14] in tantâ "superbiâ comitatem fore. Nimiùm in ordinem[15] se "ipsum cogere, et vulgari cum privatis, non tam "properantis abire magistratu, quàm viam ad con-"tinuandum magistratum quærentis, esse." Propalàm obviàm ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecundando mollire impetum aggrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu injungunt. Ars hæc erat, ne semet ipse creare posset; quod, præter tribunos plebis, (et id ipsum pessimo exemplo,) nemo unquam fecisset. Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia professus, impedi-

mentum pro occasione[16] arripuit; dejectisque honore per coitionem[17] duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatium causâ, et aliis ejusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam splendore vitæ pares decemviros creat[18], se in primis, quod haud secus factum[19] improbabant boni, quàm nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Pœtelius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'.[20] Rabuleius.

XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienæ personæ ferendæ fuit. Suo jam indè vivere ingenio cœpit, novosque collegas jam priùs, quàm inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Quotidie coibant, remotis arbitris; indè impotentibus instructi consiliis[21], quæ secretò ab aliis coquebant[22], jam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditûs[23], colloquentibus difficiles, ad Idus Maias rem perduxêre. Idus tum Maiæ sollennes ineundis magistratibus erant. Initio igitur magistratûs, primum honoris diem denunciatione ingentis terroris insignem fecêre; nam, quum ita priores decemviri servâssent[24], ut unus fasces haberet, et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam cujusque vicem, per omnes iret, subitò omnes cum duodenis fascibus prodière. Centum viginti lictores forum impleverant, et fascibus secures illigatas præferebant; nec attinuisse[25] demi securim, quum sine provocatione creati essent, interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infimis solùm, sed primoribus Patrum, ratis cædis causam ac principium quæri, ut, si quis memorem[26] libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset, statim virgæ securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedirentur. Nam, præterquam quòd in populo nihil erat præsidii, sublatâ provocatione, intercessionem[27] quoque consensu sustulerant, quum priores decemviri appellatione collegæ corrigi reddita ab se jura tulissent, et quædam, quæ sui judicii videri possent, ad populum rejecissent. Aliquamdiu æquatus inter omnes terror fuit; paullatim totus vertere in plebem cœpit. Abstinebatur à Patribus; in humiliores libidinosè crudeliterque consulebatur[28]; hominum, non causarum[29], toti erant, ut apud quos gratia vim æqui haberet. Judicia domi conflabant[30];

pronunciabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellâsset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut pœniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore[31] exierat non in præsentis modò temporis eos injuriam conspirâsse, sed fœdus clandestinum inter ipsos jurejurando ictum, ne comitia haberent, perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent[32] imperium.

XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus plebeii, et indè libertatis captare auram, unde[33] servitutem timendo in eum statum rempublicam adduxerant. Primores Patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec probare, quæ fierent; et credere, haud indignis[34] accidere. Avidè ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos[35] juvare nolle; cumulare quoque injurias, ut, tædio præsentium, consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant. Jam et processerat pars major anni, et duæ tabulæ legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adjectæ; nec quicquam jam supererat, si hæ quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatæ essent, cur eo magistratu reipublicæ opus esset. Expectabant[36] quàm mox consulibus creandis comitia edicerentur. Id modò plebes agitabat[37], quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati[38], rem intermissam, repararent; quum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri, et decemviri, qui primò tribunicios homines, quia id populare habebatur, circùm se ostentaverant plebei, patriciis juvenibus sepserant latera; eorum catervæ tribunalia obsederant. Hi ferre, agere[39] plebem plebisque res; quum fortuna[40], quâ, quicquid cupitum, foret, potentioris esset. Et jam ne tergo quidem abstinebatur; virgis cædi[41], alii securi subjici; et, ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium. Hâc mercede juventus nobilis corrupta non modò non ire obviàm injuriæ, sed propalàm licentiam suam malle, quàm omnium libertatem.

XXXVIII. Idus Maiæ[42] venêre. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris, neque animis[43] ad imperium inhibendum imminutis, neque ad speciem honoris insignibus, prodeunt; id verò regnum haud dubiè videri. Deploratur in perpetuum libertas; nec vindex quisquam exsistit, aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solùm desponderant animos, sed contemni cœpti erant à finiti-

mis populis; imperiumque ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur[44]. Sabini magnâ manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecêre; latèque populati, quum hominum atque pecudum inulti prædas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod passim vagatum erat, agmine, castra locant, spem in discordiâ Romanâ ponentes, eam impedimentum delectui fore. Non nuncii solùm, sed per urbem agrestium fuga, trepidationem injecit. Decemviri consultant, quid opus facto sit; destitutis inter Patrum et plebis odia addidit terrorem insuper alium fortuna. Æqui aliâ ex parte castra in Algido locant; depopulatumque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum legati ab Tusculo, præsidium orantes, nunciant. Is pavor perpulit decemviros, ut senatum, duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis, consulerent. Citari jubent in curiam Patres, haud ignari, quanta invidiæ immineret tempestas; omnes vastati agri periculorumque imminentium causas in se congesturos, tentationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratûs, ni consensu resisterent, imperioque inhibendo acriter in paucos præferocis animi conatus aliorum comprimerent. Postquam audita vox in foro est præconis, Patres in curiam ad decemviros vocantis, velut nova res, quia intermiserant jamdiu morem consulendi senatûs, mirabundam plebem convertit, "quidnam incidisset, cur ex tanto intervallo rem desue- "tam usurparent. Hostibus belloque gratiam habendam, "quòd solitum[45] quidquam liberæ civitatis fieret." Circumspectare[46] omnibus fori partibus senatorem, raròque usquam noscitare; curiam inde, ac solitudinem circa decemviros, intueri; quum et ipsi invisum[47] consensu imperium, et plebs, quia privatis jus non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire Patres interpretarentur; "jam "caput fieri[48] libertatem repetentium, si se plebs comitem "senatui det, et, quemadmodum Patres vocati non "coëant in senatum, sic plebs abnuat delectum." Hæc fremunt plebes. Patrum haud ferè quisquam in foro; in urbe rari erant; indignitate rerum cesserant in agros; suarumque rerum[49] erant, amissâ publicâ; tantùm ab injuriâ se abesse rati, quantùm à cœtu[50] congressuque impotentium dominorum se amovissent. Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores, simul

ad pignora[51] capienda, sciscitandumque, num consultò detractarent? referunt senatum in agris esse. Lætius id decemviris accidit, quàm si præsentes detrectare imperium referrent. Jubent acciri omnes, senatumque in diem posterum edicunt[52]. Qui aliquanto spe ipsorum frequentior convenit; quo facto proditam à Patribus plebs libertatem rata, quòd iis, qui jam magistratu abîssent, privatisque[53], si vis abesset, tanquam jure cogentibus, senatus paruisset.

XXXIX. Sed magìs obedienter ventum in curiam est, quàm obnoxiè[54] dictas sententias accepimus. L. Valerium Potitum, proditum memoriæ est, post relationem[55] Ap. Claudii, priusquam ordine sententiæ rogarentur, postulando ut de republicâ[56] liceret dicere, prohibentibus minaciter decemviris, proditurum se ad plebem denunciantem excivisse. Nec minùs ferociter M. Horatium Barbatum îsse in certamen, "Decem Tarquinios," appellantem, admonentemque, "Valeriis et Horatiis[57] ducibus "pulsos reges. Nec nominis[58] homines tum pertæsum "esse, quippe quo Jovem appellari fas sit, quo Romu- "lum conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges appellatos; "quod sacris[59] etiam, ut solenne, retentum sit. Super- "biam violentiamque tum perosos regis; quæ si in rege "tum eodem[60], aut in filio regis, ferenda non fuerint, "quem laturum in tot privatis? Viderent, ne, vetando "in curiâ liberè homines loqui, extra curiam etiam mo- "verent vocem; neque se videre, quî sibi minùs privato "ad concionem populum vocare, quàm illis senatum "cogere liceat. Ubi vellent, experirentur, quanto fero- "cior dolor[61] libertate suâ vindicandâ, quàm cupiditas "injustâ dominatione, esset. De bello Sabino eos referre; "tanquam majus ullum populo Romano bellum sit, quàm "cum iis, qui, legum ferendarum causâ creati, nihil juris "in civitate reliquerint; qui comitia, qui annuos magis- "tratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi, (quod unum exæ- "quandæ sit libertatis,) sustulerint; qui privati fasces "et regium imperium habeant. Fuisse, regibus exactis, "patricios magistratus creatos; postea, post secessionem "plebis, plebeios. Cujus illi partis essent, rogitare. "Populares? quid enim eos per populum egisse? Opti- "mates? qui anno jam propè senatum non habuerint;

"tunc ita habeant, ut de republicâ loqui prohibeant. "Ne nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent; graviora, "quæ patiantur[62], videri jam hominibus, quàm quæ "metuant."

XL. Hæc vociferante Horatio, quum decemviri nec iræ nec ignoscendi[63] modum reperirent, nec, quò evasura res esset, cernerent, C. Claudii, qui patruus Appii decemviri erat, oratio fuit precibus, quàm[64] jurgio, similis, orantis per sui fratris parentisque ejus Manes, "Ut "civilis potiùs societatis, in quâ natus esset, quàm "fœderis nefariè icti cum collegis, meminisset. Multo "id magìs se illius causâ orare, quàm reipublicæ. Quippe "rempublicam, si à volentibus nequeat, ab invitis jus "expetituram. Sed ex magno certamine magnas excitari "ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere." Quum aliud, præterquam de quo retulissent, decemviri dicere prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi[65] verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit[66], nullum placere senatûsconsultum fieri. Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos à Claudio judicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo assensi sunt. Alia sententia, asperior in speciem, vim minorem aliquanto habuit, quæ patricios coire[67] ad prodendum interregem jubebat; censendo enim[68], quoscunque magistratus esse, qui senatum haberent, judicabat, quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatûsconsulti faciendi. Ita labante jam causâ decemvirorum, L. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Cornelii decemviri frater, quum ex consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consultò servatus esset, simulando curam belli, fratrem collegasque ejus tuebatur: "Quonam fato incidisset[69], mirari se" dictitans, "ut decemviros, qui decemviratum petîssent, aut "socii, aut hi maximè, oppugnarent? aut quid ita, quum "per tot menses vacuâ civitate[70] nemo, justine magis- "tratus summæ rerum præessent, controversiam fecerit, "nunc demum, quum hostes propè ad portas sint, civiles "discordias serant; nisi quòd in turbido minùs perspi- "cuum fore putent, quid agatur[71]. Ceterùm neminem, "majore curâ occupatis animis, verum esse, præjudicium "rei tantæ afferre[72]. Sibi placere, de eo, quod Valerius "Horatiusque ante Idus Maias decemviros abîsse ma- "gistratu insimulent, bellis, quæ immineant, perfectis,

"republicâ in tranquillum redactâ, senatu disceptante, "agi; et jam nunc ita se parare Ap. Claudium[73], ut co-"mitiorum, quæ decemviris creandis decemvir ipse ha-"buerit, sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse, utrùm in "unum annum creati sint, an donec leges, quæ deessent, "perferrentur. In præsentia omnia præter bellum omitti "placere; cujus si falsò famam vulgatam, vanaque non "nuncios solùm, sed Tusculanorum etiam legatos, attu-"lisse putent, speculatores mittendos censere qui certiùs "explorata referant. Sin fides et nunciis et legatis ha-"beatur, delectum primo quoque tempore haberi; de-"cemviros, quò cuique eorum videatur, exercitus ducere; "nec rem aliam præverti[74]."

XLI. In hanc sententiam[75] ut discederetur, juniores Patrum evincebant. Ferociores iterum coorti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari, "ut de republicâ liceret dicere; "dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non "liceat. Neque enim sibi privatos, aut in curiâ, aut in "concione, posse obstare; neque se imaginariis fascibus "eorum cessuros esse." Tum Appius, jam propè esse ratus, ut, ni violentiæ eorum pari resisteretur audaciâ, victum imperium esset, "Non erit melius[76]," inquit, "nisi de quo consulimus, vocem misisse;" et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere[77], lictorem accedere jussit. Jam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio à curiæ limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium, non cui simulabat[78] consulendo, diremit certamen; factâque per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratiâ, quæ vellet, quum libertas non ultra vocem excessisset[79], decemviri propositum tenuêre. Consulares quoque ac seniores ab residuo[80] tribuniciæ potestatis odio, cujus desiderium plebi multo acrius, quàm consularis imperii, rebantur esse, propè malebant postmodo[81] ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu, quàm invidiâ eorum exsurgere rursus plebem. "Si leniter ducta[82] res sinè populari strepitu ad "consules redîsset, aut bellis interpositis, aut modera-"tione consulum in imperiis exercendis, posse in obli-"vionem tribunorum plebem adduci." Silentio Patrum edicitur delectus; juniores, quum sine provocatione imperium esset, ad nomina respondet; legionibus scriptis[83], inter se decemviri comparabant, quos ire ad bellum,

quos præesse exercitibus, oporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant Q. Fabius et Ap. Claudius. Bellum domi majus, quàm forìs, apparebat. Appii violentiam aptiorem rati ad comprimendos urbanos motus: in Fabio minùs in bono constans[84], quàm gnavum in malitiâ, ingenium esse. Hunc enim[85] virum, egregium olim domi militiæque, decemviratus collegæque ita mutaverant, ut Appii, quàm sui, similis[86] mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis, Man. Rabuleio et Q. Pœtelio additis collegis, mandatum. M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio, T. Antonio, K. Duilio, et M. Sergio; Sp. Oppium Ap. Claudio adjutorem ad urbem tuendam, æquo omnium decemvirorum imperio[87], decernunt.

XLII. Nihilo militiæ, quàm domi, meliùs respublica administrata est. Illa modò in ducibus culpa, quòd, ut odio essent civibus, fecerant; alia omnis penès milites noxa erat; qui, ne quid ductu atque auspicio[88] decemvirorum prosperè usquam gereretur, vinci se per [illegible] atque illorum dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum, et in Algido ab Æquis, exercitus erant. Ab Ereto per silentium noctis profugi, propiùs urbem, inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque, loco edito castra communierant; persecutis hostibus[89] nusquam se æquo certamine committentes, naturâ loci ac vallo, non virtute aut armis, tutabantur. Majus flagitium in Algido, major etiam clades accepta; castra quoque amissa erant; exutusque omnibus utensilibus[90], miles Tusculum se, fide misericordiâque victurus hospitum, (quæ tamen non fefellerunt) contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores allati, ut, posito jam decemvirali odio, Patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent: omnes, qui per ætatem arma ferre possent, custodire mœnia, ac pro portis stationes agere, juberent: arma Tusculum ad supplementum[91] decernerent, decemvirosque, ab arce Tusculi degressos, in castris militem habere: castra alia à Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri: belloque ultrò inferendo[92] deterreri hostes à consilio urbis oppugnandæ.

XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adjiciunt. L. Siccium in Sabinis[93], per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum

sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus, quos miserant expeditionis ejus comites, ut eum opportuno adorti loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecêre; nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidêre, quum ipse se prævalidus, pari viribus animo[94], circumventus tutaretur. Nunciant in castra ceteri præcipitatum in insidias esse[95]; Siccium, egregiè pugnantem, militesque quosdam cum eo amissos. Primò fides nunciantibus fuit. Profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos, qui ceciderant, decemvirorum permissu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus, Sicciumque in medio jacentem armatumque, omnibus in eum versis corporibus, vidêre, hostium neque corpus ullum, nec vestigia abeuntium, profectò ab suis interfectum memorantes, retulêre corpus. Invidiæque plena castra erant, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri[96] funus militare ei publicâ impensâ facere maturâssent. Sepultus ingenti militum mœstitiâ, pessimâ decemvirorum in vulgus famâ, est.

XLIV. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minùs fœdo eventu, quàm quod per stuprum cædemque Lucretiæ urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solùm idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi, esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiæ stuprandæ libido cepit. Pater virginis L. Virginius honestum ordinem[97] in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiæque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat, liberique[98] instituebantur. Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri, et pro causâ plebis expertæ virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam, formâ excellentem, Appius, amore ardens, pretio ac spe pellicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore septa animadverterat, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servitutem assereret[99]; neque cederet secundùm libertatem postulantibus vindicias, quòd pater puellæ abesset, locum injuriæ esse ratus. Virgini, venienti in forum, (ibi namque in tabernis literarum ludi erant[1],) minister decemviri libidinis manum injecit; servâ suâ natam (servamque appellans) esse; sequique se jubebat, cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavidâ puellâ stupente, ad clamorem

nutricis, fidem Quiritium implorantis, fit concursus. Virginii patris sponsique Icilii populare nomen celebratur[2]. Notos gratia eorum[3], turbam indignitas rei virgini, conciliat. Jam à vi tuta erat, quum assertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitatâ ait, se jure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in jus, auctoribus, qui aderant[4], ut sequeretur. Ad tribunal Appii perventum est. Notam judici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: "Puellam, domi suæ natam, furtoque indè in "domum Virginii translatam, suppositam ei esse[5]. Id "se indicio compertum afferre, probaturumque vel ipso "Virginio judice, ad quem major pars injuriæ[6] ejus "pertineat. Interim dominum sequi ancillam, æquum "esse." Advocati[7] puellæ, quum Virginium reipublicæ causâ dixissent abesse, biduo adfuturum, si nunciatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare[8], postulant, ut rem integram in patris adventum differat; lege ab ipso latâ[9] vindicias det secundùm libertatem; neu patiatur virginem adultam famæ priùs, quàm libertatis, periculum adire.

XLV. Appius decreto præfatus[10], "quàm libertati "faverit, eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Virginii "amici postulationi suæ prætendant. Ceterùm ita in "eâ firmum libertati fore præsidium, si nec causis, nec "personis, variet. In his enim, quæ asserantur in liber-"tatem, quia quivis lege agere possit, id juris esse; in "eâ, quæ in patris manu sit, neminem essse alium, cui "dominus possessione cedat. Placere itaque patrem "arcessi. Interea juris sui jacturam assertorem non "facere, quin ducat puellam, sistendamque in adventum "ejus, qui pater dicatur, promittat." Adversùs injuriam decreti quum multi magìs fremerent, quàm quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius, puellæ avunculus, et sponsus Icilius, interveniunt; datâque inter turbam viâ, quum multitudo, Icilii maximè interventu[11], resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor "decrêsse" ait, vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque[12] ingenium tam atrox injuria accendisset. "Ferro hinc tibi sub-"movendus sum, Appi," inquit, "ut tacitum feras[13], "quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus, "nuptam pudicamque habiturus. Proinde omnes colle-

"garum quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et "secures jube; non manebit extra domum patris sponsa "Icilii. Non, si tribunicium auxilium[14] et provoca- "tionem, plebi Romanæ duas arces libertatis tuendæ, "ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros conjugesque "regnum vestræ libidini datum est. Sævite in tergum[15] "et in cervices nostras; pudicitia saltem in tuto sit. "Huic si vis afferatur, ego præsentium Quiritium pro "sponsâ, Virginius militum pro unicâ filiâ, omnes deo- "rum hominumque implorabimus, fidem; neque tu istud "unquam decretum sine cæde nostrâ referes[16]. Postulo, "Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres, quò progrediare. "Virginius viderit, de filiâ, ubi venerit, quid agat. "Hoc tantùm sciat, sibi, si hujus vindiciis cesserit[17], "conditionem[18] filiæ quærendam esse. Me, vindican- "tem[19] sponsam in libertatem, vita citiùs deseret, quàm "fides."

XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra minas tamen processum est. Quum Appius, "non Vir- "giniam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem, et "tribunatum[20] etiam nunc spirantem, locum seditionis[21] "quærere," diceret. "Non præbiturum se illi eo die "materiam; sed, ut jam sciret non id petulantiæ suæ, "sed Virginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati, "datum, jus eo die se non dicturum, neque decretum "interpositurum; à M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet "jure suo, vindicarique[22] puellam in posterum diem "pateretur. Quòd nisi pater postero die adfuisset, "denunciare se Icilio similibusque Icilii, neque legi suæ[23] "latorem, neque decemviro constantiam, defore; nec se "utique collegarum[24] lictores convocaturum ad coërcen- "dos seditionis auctores; contentum se suis lictoribus "fore." Quum dilatum tempus injuriæ esset, secessis- sentque advocati puellæ, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icilii filiumque Numitorii, impigros juvenes, pergere inde rectâ[25] ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset, Virginium acciri è castris. In eo verti puellæ salutem, si postero die vindex[26] injuriæ ad tempus præstò esset. Jussi pergunt, citatisque equis nuncium ad patrem per- ferunt. Quum instaret assertor puellæ, ut vindicaret[27],

sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius, sedulò tempus terens, dum præciperent iter[28] nuncii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo, et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrymabundus, "Gratum est," inquit; "crastino "die vestrâ operâ utar; sponsorum nunc satis est." Ita vindicatur Virginia, spondentibus propinquis. Appius, paullisper moratus ne ejus rei causâ sedisse[29] videretur, postquam, omissis rebus aliis præ curâ unius, nemo adibat, domum se recepit, collegisque in castra scribit, "ne Virginio commeatum dent, atque etiam in "custodiâ habeant." Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit; et jam commeatu[30] sumpto profectus Virginius primâ vigiliâ erat, quum postero die manè de retinendo eo nequicquam literæ redduntur.

XLVII. At in urbe primâ luce, quum civitas in foro exspectatione erecta[31] staret, Virginius sordidatus[32] filiam suam obsoletâ veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum ingenti advocatione[33] in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines cœpit; et non orare solùm precariam opem[34], sed pro debitâ petere: "Se pro liberis eorum "ac conjugibus quotidie in acie stare; nec alium virum "esse, cujus strenuè ac ferociter facta[35] in bello plura "memorari possent. Quid prodesse[36], si, incolumi urbe, "quæ, captâ, ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint pati-"enda?" Hæc propè concionabundus[37] circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio jactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plùs tacito fletu, quàm ulla vox, movebat. Adversùs quæ omnia obstinato animo Appius (tanta vis amentiæ veriùs, quàm amoris, mentem turbaverat) in tribunal escendit; et, ultrò[38] querente pauca petitore, "quòd jus sibi pridie per ambitionem[39] dictum non "esset," priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret, aut Virginio respondendi daretur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem prætenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint[40]. Quia nusquam ullum in tantâ fœditate decreti verisimilem invenio, id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum[41], decrêsse vindicias secundùm servitutem. Primò stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit[42]; silentium indè aliquamdiu tenuit[43]. Dein quum M. Claudius, circum-

stantibus matronis, iret ad prehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Virginius, intentans in Appium manus, "Icilio," inquit, "Appi, non tibi, filiam despondi; et ad nuptias, non ad "stuprum, educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu "promiscuè in concubitus ruere? Passurine hæc isti "sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma "habent." Quum repelleretur assertor virginis à globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per præconem.

XLVIII. Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo[44], negat, "hesterno tantùm convicio Icilii violentiâque "Virginii, cujus testem populum Romanum habeat, sed "certis quoque indiciis, compertum se habere nocte totâ "cœtus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. "Itaque se, haud inscium ejus dimicationis[45], cum "armatis descendisse[46], non ut quemquam quietum vio-"laret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro majestate "imperii coërceret. Proinde quiêsse erit melius[47]. I," inquit, "lictor, submove turbam; et da viam domino ad "prehendendum mancipium." Quum hæc intonuisset plenus iræ, multitudo ipsa se suâ sponte dimovit, desertaque præda injuriæ puella stabat. Tum Virginius, ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, "Quæso," inquit, "Appi, "primùm ignosce patrio dolori, si quid inclementius in "te sum invectus: deinde sinas hîc coram virgine nutri-"cem percontari, quid hoc rei sit? ut, si falsò pater "dictus sum, æquiore hinc animo[48] discedam." Datâ veniâ, seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinæ ad tabernas[49], quibus nunc Novis est nomen; atque ibi, ab lanio cultro arrepto, "Hoc te uno, quo possum, ait, "modo, filia, in libertatem vindico." Pectus deinde puellæ transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal, "Te," inquit, "Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro[50]." Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprehendi Virginium jubet. Ille ferro, quâcunque ibat, viam facere, donec, multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente, ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsangue corpus sublatum ostentat populo; scelus Appii, puellæ infelicem formam, necessitatem patris, deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronæ: "Eamne liberorum pro-

"creandorum conditionem? ea pudicitiæ præmia esse?" ceteraque, quæ in tali re[51] muliebris dolor, quo est mœstior imbecillo animo, eo magìs miserabilia, querentibus subjicit. Virorum et maximè Icilii[52] vox tota tribuniciæ potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptæ, publicarumque indignationum, erat.

XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendæ libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem[53] arripi, postremò, quum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse, cum agmine patriciorum juvenum per turbam vadens, in vincula duci, jubet. Jam circa Icilium non solùm multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui, repulso lictore, "si "jure ageret, vindicare[54] se à privato Icilium" aiebant; "si vim afferre conaretur, ibi quoque se haud impares "fore." Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur à multitudine fasces. In concionem Appius ascendit. Sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque; eos concio audit: decemviro obstrepitur. Jam pro imperio[55] Valerius discedere à privato lictores jubebat; quum, fractis animis, Appius, vitæ metuens, in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto, recepit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegæ esset, in forum ex alterâ parte irrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis[56], atque ex omni parte assentiendo multis auctoribus trepidus, senatum postremò vocari jussit. Ea res, quòd magnæ parti Patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendæ potestatis ejus multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit, et multo magìs providendum, ne quid Virginii adventus in exercitu motûs faceret.

L. Itaque missi juniores Patrum in castra, quæ tum in monte Vecilio[57] erant, nunciant decemviris, "ut omni ope ab seditione milites contineant;" ubi Virginius majorem, quàm reliquerat in urbe, motum excivit. Nam, præterquam quòd agmine propè quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est[58], strictum etiam telum, respersusque ipse cruore, tota in se castra convertit[59]; et

togæ[60], multifariam in castris visæ, majoris[61] aliquanto, quàm erat, speciem urbanæ multitudinis fecerant. Quærentibus, "quid rei esset," flens diu vocem non misit[62]; tandem, ut jam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit, ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans, orabat, "Ne, quod scelus Ap. Claudii esset, "sibi attribuerent, neu se, ut parricidam liberûm, aversarentur. Sibi vitam filiæ suâ cariorem fuisse, si liberæ "ac pudicæ vivere[63] licitum fuisset. Quum, velut servam, "ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti meliùs ratum[64], "quàm contumeliâ, liberos, misericordiâ se in speciem "crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiæ futurum "fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendæ mortis ejus in auxilio "commilitonum habuisset. Illis quoque enim filias, "sorores, conjugesque, esse; nec cum filiâ suâ libidinem "Ap. Claudii exstinctam esse; sed, quo impunitior sit, "eo effrenatiorem fore. Alienâ calamitate documentum "datum illis cavendæ similis injuriæ. Quod ad se "attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam; filiam, quia non "ultrà pudica victura fuerit, miseram, sed honestam, "mortem occubuisse[65]. Non esse jam Appii libidini "locum in domo suâ; ab aliâ violentiâ ejus eodem se "animo suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit "filiæ. Cæteri sibi ac liberis suis consulerent." Hæc Virginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, "nec illius "dolori, nec suæ libertati, se defuturos." Et immixti turbæ militum togati, quum eadem illa querendo, docendoque, quanto visa, quàm audita, indigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam[66] jam rem nunciando Romæ esse, insecutique[67], qui Appium propè interemptum in exsilium abîsse dicerent, perpulerunt, ut ad arma conclamaretur, vellerentque signa[68], et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri simul his, quæ videbant, simul his, quæ acta Romæ audierant, perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum, ad sedandos motus discurrunt; et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur. Imperium si quis inhiberet[69], "et viros et armatos se esse," respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem, et Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes; alia vox nulla

violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet; nihil placet asperè agi, quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditionis esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, P. Sulpicius, qui quærerent senatûs verbis[70], "cujus jussu castra deseruissent? aut quid sibi vellent, "qui armati Aventinum obsedissent? belloque averso ab "hostibus, patriam suam cepissent?" Non defuit, quid responderetur; deerat, qui daret responsum, nullodum[71] certo duce, nec satìs audentibus singulis invidiæ se offerre. Id modò à multitudine conclamatum est, "ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent; his "se daturos responsum."

LI. Dimissis legatis, admonet milites Virginius, "in "re non maximâ paullo antè trepidatum esse[72], quia sine "capite multitudo fuerit; responsumque, quanquam non "inutiliter, fortuito tamen magìs consensu, quàm com-"muni consilio, esse. Placere decem creari, qui summæ "rei præessent, militarique honore tribunos militum "appellari." Quum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, "Melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate," inquit, "ista de me judicia. Nec mihi filia inulta "honorem ullum jucundum esse patitur; nec in pertur-"batâ republicâ eos utile est præesse vobis qui proximi "invidiæ[73] sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex "privato capietur." Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus; ibi quoque, auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu[74] animorum Siccii cædis memoriâ revocatâ, quàm quem nova fama de virgine adeò fœdè ad libidinem petitâ accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium prærogativam[75] urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium, imminensque ei potestati[76], et ipse priùs, quàm iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Portâ Collinâ urbem intravêre sub signis, mediâque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi, conjuncti alteri exercitui, viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summæ rerum præessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant. Patres, solliciti de summâ rerum, quum senatus quotidie esset,

jurgiis sæpiùs terunt tempus, quàm consiliis. Siccii cædes decemviris, et Appiana libido, et dedecora militiæ[77], objiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quàm si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratûs ejus, quo anno jam antè abîssent. Decemviri, querentes se in ordinem cogi[78], non antè, quàm perlatis legibus, quarum causâ creati essent, depondituros imperium se aiebant.

LII. Per M. Duilium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus assiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, affirmante Duilio, "Non priùs, quàm deseri urbem videant, curam "in animos Patrum descensuram; admoniturum[79] Sa-"crum montem constantiæ plebis; scituros[80] quòd, sine "restitutâ potestate, redigi in concordiam res nequeant." Viâ Nomentanâ, cui tum Ficulensi[81] nomen fuit, profecti, castra in monte Sacro locavêre, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, qui per ætatem ire posset, retractante[82]. Prosequuntur conjuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in eâ urbe, in quâ "nec pudicitia, nec libertas, sancta esset," miserabiliter rogitantes. Quum vasta Romæ omnia insueta solitudo fecisset; in foro præter paucos seniorum nemo esset; vocatis utique in senatum Patribus, desertum apparuisset forum; plures jam, quàm Horatius et Valerius, vociferabantur: "Quid exspectabitis, Patres Con-"scripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciæ non faciunt, "ruere ac deflagrare[83] omnia passuri estis? Quod autem "istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? "Tectis ac parietibus jura dicturi estis? Non pudet "lictorum vestrorum majorem propè numerum in foro "conspici, quàm togatorum aliorumque[84]? Quid, si "hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis? quid, si plebs "mox, ubi parùm secessione moveamur, armata veniat? "Occasune urbis vultis finire imperium? Atqui aut "plebs non est habenda, aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. "Nos citiùs caruerimus patriciis magistratibus, quàm "illi plebeiis. Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem "eripuêre patribus nostris, ne nunc[85], dulcedine semel "capti, ferant desiderium, quum præsertim nec nos "temperemus imperiis, quo minùs illi auxilii egeant."

Quum hæc ex omni parte jactarentur, victi consensu, decemviri futuros se, quando ita videatur, in potestate[86] Patrum affirmant. Id modò simul orant ac monent, ut ipsis ab invidiâ caveatur[87], nec suo sanguine ad supplicia Patrum plebem assuefaciant.

LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque, missi ad plebem conditionibus, quibus videretur, revocandam componendasque res, decemviris quoque ab irâ et impetu multitudinis præcavere jubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubiè, et motûs initio, et exitu rei. Ob hæc advenientibus gratiæ actæ. Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem, quum de conditionibus ageretur, quærentibus legatis, quæ postulata plebis essent, composito jam ante adventum legatorum consilio, ea postulavit[88], ut appareret in æquitate rerum plus, quàm in armis, reponi spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam, provocationemque repetebant, quæ ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset[89], concîsse milites aut plebem ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvirorum modò supplicio atrox postulatum fuit. Dedi quippe eos æquum censebant, vivosque igni concrematuros minabantur. Legati ad ea: "Quæ consilii[90] fuerunt, adeò æqua postulâstis, "ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea "præsidia petitis, non licentiæ ad impugnandos alios. "Iræ vestræ magìs ignoscendum, quàm indulgendum, "est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem "ruitis, et priùs penè, quàm ipsi liberi sitis, dominari "jam in adversarios vultis. Nunquamne quiescet "civitas nostra à suppliciis, aut Patrum in plebem "Romanam, aut plebis in Patres? Scuto vobis magìs, "quàm gladio, opus est. Satìs superque humilis est[91], "qui jure æquo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo injuriam, "nec patiendo. Etiam si quando metuendos vos præbituri estis, quum, recuperatis magistratibus legibus"que vestris, judicia penès vos erunt de capite nostro "fortunisque, tunc, ut quæque causa erit, statuetis; "nunc libertatem repeti satìs est."

LIV. Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis[92], mox redituros se legati, rebus perfectis, affirmant. Pro-

fecti quum mandata plebis Patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quandoquidem præter spem ipsorum supplicii sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere. Appius, truci ingenio et invidiâ præcipuâ, odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio, "Haud ignaro," inquit, "imminet fortuna[93]. Video, donec arma adversariis tradantur, differri adversùs nos certamen; "dandus invidiæ est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem "moror[94], quo minùs decemviratu abeam." Factum senatûsconsultum, "Ut decemviri se primo quoque "tempore magistratu abdicarent. Q. Furius, pontifex[95] maximus, tribunos plebis crearet, et ne cui "fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque." His senatûsconsultis perfectis, dimisso senatu, decemviri prodeunt in concionem, abdicantque se magistratu[96] ingenti hominum lætitiâ. Nunciantur hæc plebi. Legatos[97], quicquid in urbe hominum supererat, prosequitur. Huic multitudini læta alia turba ex castris occurrit; congratulantur libertatem concordiamque restitutam. Legati pro concione[98]: "Quod bonum, "faustum, felixque sit vobis, reique publicæ, redite "in patriam ad penates, conjuges, liberosque vestros. "Sed, quâ hîc modestiâ fuistis, ubi nullius ager in "tot rerum usu necessario tantæ multitudini est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem; in Aventinum "ite, unde profecti estis. Ibi felici loco, ubi prima "initia inchoâstis libertatis vestræ, tribunos plebi creabitis; præstò erit pontifex maximus, qui comitia "habeat." Ingens assensus alacritasque cuncta approbantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa[99], profectique Romam certant cum obviis gaudio; armati per urbem silentio in Aventinum perveniunt. Ibi extemplò, pontifice maximo comitia habente, tribunos plebis creaverunt, omnium primum A. Virginium[1], inde L. Icilium, et P. Numitorium avunculum Virginiæ, auctores secessionis; tum C. Sicinium, progeniem ejus, quem primum tribunum plebis creatum in Sacro monte proditum memoriæ est, et M. Duilium[2], qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos gesserat, nec in decemviralibus certaminibus plebi defuerat. Spe[3] deinde magìs, quàm meritis, electi, M. Titinius,

M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius. Tribunatu inito, L. Icilius extemplò plebem rogavit, et plebs scivit, ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta. Confestim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione M. Duilius rogationem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis concilio plebis acta, quem nunc Circum Flaminium appellant.

LV. Per interregem deinde consules creati, L. Valerius, M. Horatius, qui extemplò magistratum occeperunt; quorum consulatus[4] popularis, sine ullâ Patrum injuriâ, nec sine offensione fuit; quicquid enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Omnium primum, quum veluti in controverso jure[5] esset, tenerenturne Patres plebiscitis[6], legem centuriatis comitiis tulêre, "Ut, quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum "teneret." Quâ lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Aliam deinde consularem legem[7] de provocatione, unicum præsidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt modò, sed etiam in posterum muniunt, sanciendo novam legem[8], "Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione[9] "crearet; qui creâsset, eum jus fasque esset occidi; "neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur." Et quum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio, satis firmâssent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur, (cujus rei propè jam memoria aboleverat) relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo ceremoniis, renovârunt[10]; et tum religione inviolatos eos, tum lege etiam, fecerunt, sanciendo, "Ut, qui tribunis plebis, "ædilibus[11], judicibus, decemviris, nocuisset, ejus caput "Jovi sacrum esset; familia[12] ad ædem Cereris, Liberi, "Liberæque[13], venum iret." Hâc lege juris interpretes negant quemquam sacrosanctum esse; sed eum, qui eorum cuiquam nocuerit, sacrum sanciri[14]; itaque ædilem prehendi ducique à majoribus magistratibus; quod etsi non jure fiat, (noceri enim ei, cui hâc lege non liceat) tamen argumentum esse, non haberi pro sacrosancto ædilem; tribunos vetere jurejurando plebis, quum primùm eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos esse. Fuêre, qui interpretarentur eâdem hâc Horatiâ lege consulibus quoque et prætoribus, quia

iisdem auspiciis, quibus consules, crearentur, cautum esse[15]; judicem enim consulem appellari. Quæ refellitur interpretatio, quòd his temporibus nondum consulem judicem, sed prætorem, appellari mos fuerit. Hæ consulares[16] leges fuêre. Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ut senatûsconsulta in ædem Cereris ad ædiles plebis deferrentur[17]; quæ antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque[18]. M. Duilius deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit, plebesque scivit, "Qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset[19], quique magis-"tratum sine provocatione creâsset, tergo ac capite "puniretur." Hæc omnia ut invitis[20], ita non adversantibus, patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum sæviebatur.

LVI. Fundatâ deinde et potestate tribuniciâ et plebis libertate, tum tribuni, aggredi singulos tutum maturumque jam rati, accusatorem primum Virginium et Appium reum deligunt. Quum diem Appio Virginius dixisset, et Appius, stipatus patriciis juvenibus, in forum descendisset[21], redintegrata extemplò est omnibus memoria fœdissimæ potestatis, quum ipsum satellitesque ejus vidissent. Tum Virginius, "Oratio[22]," inquit, "rebus "dubiis inventa est. Itaque neque ego accusando apud "vos eum tempus teram, à cujus crudelitate vosmet "ipsi armis vindicástis; nec istum ad cetera scelera "impudentiam in defendendo se adjicere patiar. "Omnium igitur tibi, Ap. Claudi, quæ impiè nefa-"riéque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, "gratiam facio[23]. Unius tantùm criminis[24], ni judicem "dices[25], te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindi-"cias non dedisse, in vincula te duci jubeo." Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius, nec in judicio populi, ullam spem habebat; attamen et tribunos appellavit, et, nullo morante[26], arreptus à viatore, "Provoco," inquit. Audita vox, una vindex libertatis, ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciæ nuper ab libertate dictæ[27] erant, silentium fecit. Et, dum pro se quisque, "Deos "tandem esse, et non negligere humana," fremunt, "et superbiæ crudelitatique, etsi seras, non leves "tamen venire pœnas; provocare, qui provocationem "sustulisset; et implorare præsidium populi, qui

"omnia jura populi obtrîsset; rapique in vincula "egentem jure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in ser-"vitutem addixisset;" ipsius Appii, inter concionis murmur, fidem populi Romani implorantis vox audiebatur. "Majorum merita in rempublicam domi militiæ-"que" commemorabat; "suum infelix erga plebem "Romanam studium, quòd æquandarum legum causâ "cum maximâ offensione Patrum consulatu abîsset[28]; "suas leges, quibus manentibus lator earum in vincula "ducatur. Ceterùm sua propria bona malaque[29], quum "causæ dicendæ data facultas sit, tùm se experturum. "In præsentia se communi jure civitatis civem Roma-"num die dictâ postulare, ut dicere liceat, et judicium "populi Romani experiri; non ita se invidiam per-"timuisse, ut nihil in æquitate et misericordiâ civium "suorum spei habeat. Quòd si indictâ causâ in vincula "ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare, et "monere, ne imitentur, quos oderint[30]. Quòd si tri-"buni[31] eodem fœdere obligatos se fateantur appellati-"onis causâ, in quam conspirâsse decemviros criminati "sint," ait[32] "se provocare ad populum; implorare "leges de provocatione, et consulares, et tribunicias "eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si "huic indemnato, indictâ causâ, non liceat? cui plebeio "et humili præsidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio "non sit? se documento futurum, utrùm novis legibus "dominatio, an libertas, firmata sit; et appellatio pro-"vocatioque[33] adversùs injuriam magistratuum ostentata "tantùm inanibus literis, an verè data sit."

LVII. Contra ea Virginius, "Unum Ap. Claudium, et legum expertem, et civilis et humani fœderis[34], esse," aiebat. "Respicerent tribunal homines, castellum omnium "scelerum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, "sanguini, civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus "minitans, deorum hominumque contemptor, carnifici-"bus, non lictoribus, stipatus, jam ab rapinis et cædibus "animo ad libidinem verso, virginem ingenuam in oculis "populi Romani, velut bello captam, ab complexu patris "abreptam, ministro cubiculi sui clienti dono dederit. "Ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindiciis dextram "patris in filiam armaverit; ubi, tollentes corpus semia-

"nime virginis, sponsum avunculumque in carcerem "duci jusserit, stupro interpellato[35] magìs, quàm cæde, "motus. Et illi carcerem ædificatum esse, quod domi- "cilium plebis Romanæ vocare sit solitus. Proinde, ut "ille iterum ac sæpius provocet, sic se iterum ac sæpius "judicem illi ferre, ni vindicias[36] ab libertate in servi- "tutem dederit; si ad judicem non eat, pro damnato in "vincula duci jubere." Ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu animorum, quum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi jam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est conjectus. Tribunus ei diem prodixit[37] Inter hæc ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordiâ Patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt; donumque ob eam Jovi optimo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulêre parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentæ erant, colebanturque religiones piè magìs, quàm magnificè. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est Æquos Volscosque summâ vi bellum apparare. Itaque partiri provincias consules jussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Æqui Volscique, evenêre. Quum ad ea bella delectum edixissent, favore plebis non juniores modò, sed, emeritis etiam stipendiis[38], pars magna voluntariorum, ad nomina danda præstò fuêre; eóque non copiâ modò, sed genere etiam, militum, veteranis admixtis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priusquam urbem egrederentur[39], leges decemvirales, quibus TABULIS DUODECIM est nomen, in æs incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt, qui jussu tribunorum ædiles functos eo ministerio scribant.

LVIII. C. Claudius, (qui, perosus decemvirorum scelera, et ante omnes fratris filii superbiæ infestus, Regillum, antiquam in patriam[40], se contulerat,) is, magno jam natu, quum ad pericula ejus deprecanda redîsset, cujus vitia fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus[41] clientibusque in foro prensabat singulos; orabatque, "Ne Claudiæ genti eam inustam maculam vellent, ut "carcere et vinculis viderentur digni. Virum, honora- "tissimæ imaginis[42] futurum ad posteros, legum latorem "conditoremque Romani juris, jacere vinctum inter fures "nocturnos ac latrones. Averterent ab irâ parumper "ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potiùs "unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent, quàm

"propter unius odium multorum preces aspernarentur. "Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare[43], nec cum eo in "gratiam redisse, cujus adversæ fortunæ velit succursum. "Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse; clementiâ con"cordiam ordinum stabiliri posse." Erant, quos moveret suâ magìs pietate[44], quàm ejus, pro quo agebat, causâ; sed Virginius, "sui potiùs ut misererentur," orabat, "filiæque: nec gentis Claudiæ, regnum in ple"bem sortitæ, sed necessariorum[45] Virginiæ et trium "tribunorum, preces audirent, qui, ad auxilium plebis "creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent." Justiores hæ lacrymæ videbantur; itaque, spe incisâ[46], priusquam prodicta dies adesset, Appius sibi mortem conscivit. Subinde arreptus[47] à P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiæ, quòd in urbe fuerat, quum injustæ vindiciæ à collegâ dicerentur. Plus tamen facta injuria Oppio[48], quàm non prohibita, invidiæ fecit. Testis productus, qui, septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis, octies extra ordinem donatus[49], donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissâ veste, tergum laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans, "quin, si quam suam noxam "reus dicere posset, privatus[50] iterum in se sæviret." Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est, et ante judicii diem finem ibi vitæ fecit. Bona Claudii Oppiique tribuni publicavêre; collegæ eorum exsilii causâ solum verterunt[51]; bona publicata sunt; et M. Claudius, assertor Virginiæ, die dictâ damnatus, ipso remittente Virginio ultimam pœnam[52], dimissus Tibur exulatum abiit; Manesque Virginiæ, mortuæ quàm vivæ felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas pœnas vagati, nullo relicto sonte, tandem quieverunt.

LIX. Ingens metus incesserat[53] Patres, vultusque jam iidem tribunorum erant, qui decemvirorum fuerant, quum M. Duilius tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter modo[54] nimiæ potestatis, "Et libertatis," inquit, "nostræ et pœnarum ex inimicis satìs est. Itaque hoc "anno nec diem dici cuiquam, nec in vincula duci "quemquam, sum passurus. Nam neque vetera peccata "repeti jam obliterata placet, quum nova expiata sint "decemvirorum suppliciis; et nihil admissum iri, quod "vim tribuniciam desideret[55], spondet perpetua consulum

" amborum in libertate vestrâ tuendâ cura." Ea primùm moderatio tribuni metum Patribus dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam[56], quòd adeò toti plebis fuissent, ut Patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui, quàm patricio, cura fuisset; et antè inimicos satietas pœnarum suarum cepisset, quàm obviàm ituros licentiæ eorum consules appareret. Multique erant, qui molliùs consultum[57] dicerent, quòd legum ab iis latarum Patres auctores fuissent; neque erat dubium[58], quin, turbato reipublicæ statu, tempori succubuissent.

LX. Consules, rebus urbanis compositis, fundatoque plebis statu, in provincias diversi abiêre. Valerius adversùs conjunctos jam in Algido exercitus Æquorum Volscorumque sustinuit[59] consilio bellum. Quòd si extemplò rem fortunæ commisisset, haud scio an[60] (qui tum animi ab decemvirorum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant,) magno detrimento certamen staturum fuerit. Castris mille passuum ab hoste positis, copias continebat; hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructâ complebant. Provocantibusque ad prœlium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando, ac nequicquam exspectando certamen, Æqui Volscique, postquam concessum propemodum de victoriâ[61] credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos, prædatum abeunt. Relinquitur magìs castris præsidium, quàm satìs virium ad certamen; quod ubi consul sensit, reddit illatum antea terrorem; instructâque acie ultrò hostem lacessit. Ubi illi, conscientiâ quid abesset virium, detractavêre pugnam, crevit extemplò Romanis animus, et pro victis habebant paventes intra vallum. Quum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessêre[62]; et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant. Haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuncios passim trepidi ad revocandos prædatores dimittunt; recurritur ex proximis locis; ulteriores[63] non inventi. Ubi illuxit, egreditur castris Romanus vallum invasurus, ni copia pugnæ fieret; et, postquam multa jam dies[64] erat, neque movebatur quicquam ab hoste, jubet signa inferri consul; motâque acie, indignatio Æquos et Volscos incessit, si victores exercitus vallum potiùs, quàm virtus et arma tegerent; igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum

pugnæ accepêre. Jamque pars egressa portis erat, deincepsque alii servabant ordinem, in suum quisque locum descendentes, quum consul Romanus priùs, quàm totis viribus fulta constaret hostium acies, intulit signa, adortusque[65] nec omnes dum eductos, nec, qui erant, satìs explicatis ordinibus, propè fluctuantem turbam trepidantium huc atque illuc, circumspectantiumque se ac suos, addito turbatis mentibus clamore atque impetu, invadit. Retulêre primò pedem hostes; deinde, quum animos collegissent, et undique duces, "victisne cessuri essent," increparent, restituitur pugna.

LXI. Consul ex alterâ parte Romanos "meminisse" jubebat, "illo die primùm liberos pro liberâ urbe Romanâ "pugnare. Sibimet ipsis victuros, non ut decemvirorum "victores præmium essent. Non Appio duce rem geri, "sed consule Valerio, à liberatoribus populi Romani "orto, liberatore ipso. Ostenderent prioribus prœliis "per duces, non per milites, stetisse, ne vincerent. "Turpe esse contra cives plus animi habuisse, quàm "contra hostes; et domi, quàm foris, servitutem magìs "timuisse. Unam Virginiam fuisse, cujus pudicitiæ in "pace periculum esset; unum Appium civem periculosæ "libidinis; at, si fortuna belli inclinet[66], omnium liberis ab tot millibus hostium periculum fore. Nolle "ominari[67], quæ nec Jupiter nec Mars pater passuri "sint urbi iis auspiciis conditæ accidere." Aventini Sacrique montis admonebat, "ut, ubi libertas parta "esset paucis antè mensibus, eò imperium illibatum[68] "referrent, ostenderentque eandem indolem militibus "Romanis post exactos decemviros esse, quæ ante "creatos fuerit, nec, æquatis legibus, imminutam virtutem populi Romani esse." Hæc ubi inter signa peditum dicta dedit, avolat deinde ad equites: "Agite "juvenes," inquit; "præstate virtute peditem, ut honore "atque ordine præstatis. Primo concursu pedes movit "hostem; pulsum vos, immissis equis, exigite è campo. "Non sustinebunt impetum, et nunc cunctantur magìs, "quàm resistunt." Concitant equos permittuntque[69] in hostem, pedestri jam turbatum pugnâ; et, perruptis ordinibus, elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti[70], jam fugam undique capessentes plerosque

à castris avertunt, præterequitantesque absterrent. Peditum acies et consul ipse visque omnis belli fertur in castra; captisque cum ingenti cæde, majore[71] prædâ, potitur. Hujus pugnæ fama perlata non in urbem modò, sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum. In urbe lætitiâ modò celebrata est; in castris animos militum ad æmulandum decus accendit[72]. Jam Horatius, eos excursionibus sufficiendo[73], prœliisque levibus experiundo, assuefecerat sibi potiùs fidere, quàm meminisse ignominiæ decemvirorum ductu acceptæ; parvaque certamina in summam totius profecerant spei[74]. Nec cessabant Sabini, feroces ab re priore anno bene gestâ, lacessere atque instare, rogitantes, "Quid, latrocinii modo, procursantes "pauci recurrentesque tererent tempus, et in multa "prœlia parvaque carperent[75] summam unius belli? "Quin illi congrederentur acie, inclinandamque[76] semel "fortunæ rem darent?"

LXII. Ad id, quod suâ sponte satìs collectum animorum erat, indignitate[77] etiam Romani accendebantur: "Jam alterum exercitum victorem in urbem rediturum; "sibi ultrò per contumelias hostem insultare. Quando "autem se, si tum non sint, pares hostibus fore?" Ubi hæc fremere militem in castris consul sensit, concione advocatâ, "Quemadmodum," inquit, "in Algido res "gesta sit, arbitror vos, milites, audîsse; qualem liberi "populi exercitum decuit esse, talis fuit; consultu col-"legæ, virtute militum, victoria parta est. Quod ad "me attinet, id consilii animique habiturus sum, quod "vos mihi effeceritis; et trahi bellum salubriter, et "maturè perfici[78], potest. Si trahendum est, ego, ut "in dies spes virtusque vestra crescat, eâdem, quâ "institui, disciplinâ efficiam. Si jam satìs animi est "decernique[79] placet, agitedum, clamorem, qualem in "acie sublaturi estis, tollite hìc, indicem voluntatis "virtutisque vestræ." Postquam ingenti alacritate clamor est sublatus, "Quod bene vertat, gesturum se "illis morem, posteroque die in aciem deducturum," affirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis consumptum est. Postero die simul instrui Romanam aciem Sabini vidêre, et ipsi, jam pridem avidi certaminis, procedunt. Prœlium fuit[80], quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exerci-

tus, veteris perpetuæque alterum gloriæ, alterum nuper novâ victoriá elatum. Consilio etiam Sabini vires adjuvêre; nam, quum æquâssent aciem[81], duo extra ordinem[82] millia, quæ in sinistrum cornu Romanorum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent, tenuêre; quæ ubi, illatis ex transverso signis, degravabant propè circumventum cornu, equites duarum legionum sexcenti ferè ex equis desiliunt, cedentibusque jam suis provolant in primum, simulque et hosti se opponunt, et, æquato primùm periculo, pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt. Verecundiæ erat[83] equitem suo alienoque marte pugnare; peditem ne ad pedes quidem degresso[84] equiti parem esse.

LXIII. Vadunt igitur in prœlium ab suâ parte omissum, et locum, ex quo cesserant, repetunt; momentoque non restituta modò pugna, sed inclinatur etiam Sabinis cornu[85]. Eques inter ordines peditum tectus se ad equos recipit; transvolat inde in partem alteram suis victoriæ nuncius; simul et in hostes jam pavidos, quippe fuso suæ partis validiore cornu, impetum facit. Non aliorum eo prœlio virtus magìs enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortes, increpare, sicubi segnior pugna esset[86]. Castigati fortium statim virorum operam edebant; tantumque hos pudor, quantum alios laudes, excitabant. Redintegrato clamore, undique omnes connisi hostem avertunt, nec deinde Romana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini, fusi passim per agros, castra hosti ad prædam relinquunt. Ibi non sociorum, sicut in Algido, res, sed suas, populationibus agrorum amissas, Romanus recipit. Geminâ victoriâ duobus bifariam prœliis partâ, malignè[87] senatus in unum diem supplicationes consulum nomine decrevit. Populus injussu et altero die frequens iit supplicatum; et hæc vaga popularisque supplicatio studiis propè celebratior[88] fuit. Consules ex composito eodem biduo[89] ad urbem accessêre, senatumque in Martium Campum evocavêre. Ubi, quum de rebus ab se gestis agerent, questi primores Patrum senatum inter milites deditâ operâ terroris causâ haberi; itaque inde consules, ne criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia[90], ubi nunc ædes Apollinis[91] est, (jam tum Apollinarem appellabant,) avocavêre senatum. Ubi, quum ingenti consensu

Patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho consulum, multis dissuasum prodeuntibus[92], maximè C. Claudio[93] vociferante: "De Patribus, non de hostibus, consules triumphare "velle; gratiamque[94] pro privato merito in tribunum, "non pro virtute honorem, peti. Nunquam antè de "triumpho per populum actum; semper æstimationem "arbitriumque ejus honoris penès senatum fuisse. Ne "reges quidem majestatem summi ordinis imminuisse. "Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suæ implerent, ut "nullum publicum consilium sinerent esse. Ita demum "liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem, teneat." In eandem sententiam multa et à ceteris senioribus Patrum quum essent dicta, omnes tribus eam rogationem acceperunt. Tum primùm, sine auctoritate senatûs, populi jussu triumphatum est.

LXIV. Hæc victoria tribunorum plebisque propè in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit[95], conspiratione inter tribunos factâ, ut iidem tribuni reficerentur, et, quo sua minùs cupiditas emineret, consulibus quoque continuarent magistratum. Consensum Patrum causabantur, quo per contumeliam consulum[96] jura plebis labefacta essent. "Quid futurum, nondum firmatis legibus, si "novos tribunos per factiones[97] suas consules adorti "essent? non enim semper Valerios Haratiosque con-"sules fore, qui libertati plebis suas opes postferrent." Forte quâdam utili ad tempus, ut comitiis præesset, potissimùm M. Duilio sorte evenit, viro prudenti, et ex continuatione magistratûs invidiam imminentem cernenti. Qui quum ex veteribus tribunis negaret ullius se rationem habiturum[98], pugnarentque collegæ, ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret[99], aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis[1], habituris è lege potiùs comitia, quàm ex voluntate Patrum, injectâ contentione[2], Duilius, consules ad subsellia accitos quum interrogâsset, quid de comitiis consularibus in animo haberent, respondissentque, se novos consules creaturos, auctores popularis sententiæ haud populares nactus[3], in concionem cum iis processit. Ubi, quum consules, ducti ad populum, interrogatique, si eos populus Ro-

manus, memor libertatis per illos receptæ domi, memor militiæ rerumque gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam facturi essent, nihil sententiæ suæ mutâssent, collaudatis consulibus[4], quòd perseverarent ad ultimum dissimiles decemvirorum esse, comitia habuit; et, quinque tribunis plebis creatis, quum, præ studiis apertè petentium novem tribunorum, alii candidati tribus non explerent[5], concilium dimisit, nec deinde comitiorum causâ habuit. Satisfactum legi[6] aiebat, quæ, numero nusquam præfinito tribunis, modò ut relinquerentur[7], sanciret, et ab iis, qui creati essent, cooptari collegas juberet. Recitabatque rogationis carmen[8], in quo, "Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo[9], si quî vos minus "hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis[10], hi tum uti, "quos sibi collegas cooptâssint, ut illi legitimi eâdem "lege tribuni plebei sint, ut illi, quos[11] hodie tribunos "plebei feceritis." Duilius, quum ad ultimum perseverâsset, negando quindecim tribunos[12] plebei rempublicam habere posse, victâ collegarum cupiditate, pariter Patribus plebique acceptus, magistratu abiit.

LXV. Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis Patrum voluntatem foverunt. Duos etiam patricios consularesque, Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aterium[13], cooptavêre. Consules creati, Lar. Herminius, T. Virginius Cælimontanus[14]. Nihil magnopere ad Patrum aut plebis causam inclinati, otium domi ac forìs habuêre. L. Trebonius, tribunus plebis, infestus Patribus, quòd se ab iis in cooptandis tribunis fraude captum, proditum à collegis, aiebat, rogationem tulit, "ut, qui "plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret[15], is usque "eò rogaret, dum decem tribunos plebi faceret;" insectandisque Patribus, unde Aspero etiam inditum est cognomen, tribunatum gessit[16]. Inde M. Geganius Macerinus et C. Julius, consules facti, coitiones tribunorum adversùs nobilium juventutem ortas, sine insectatione potestatis ejus[17], conservatâ majestate Patrum, sedavêre; plebem, decreto ad bellum Volscorum et Æquorum delectu, sustinendo rem[18], ab seditionibus continuêre, "urbano quoque otio[19] forìs omnia tran-"quilla esse" affirmantes; "per discordias civiles ex-"ternos[20] tollere animos." Cura pacis concordiæ

quoque intestinæ causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis[21] alterius modestiæ erat; quiescenti plebi ab junioribus Patrum injuriæ fieri cœptæ. Ubi tribuni auxilio humilioribus essent, in primis parum proderat[22]; deinde ne ipsi quidem inviolati erant, utique postremis mensibus, quum et per coitiones potentiorum injuria fieret, et vis potestatis omnis aliquanto posteriore anni parte languidior fermè esset; jamque plebs ita in tribunatu ponere aliquid spei, si similes Icilio tribunos haberet; nomina tantùm[23] se biennio habuisse. Seniores contrà Patrum, ut nimìs feroces suos credere juvenes esse, ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis, quàm adversariis, superesse animos; adeò moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum, æquari velle simulando, ita se quisque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili est[24]; cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ultro se efficiunt; et injuriam à nobis repulsam, tanquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, injungimus aliis.

LXVI. T. Quinctius Capitolinus quartùm et Agrippa Furius, consules inde facti, nec seditionem domi, nec forìs bellum, acceperunt; sed imminebat utrumque. Jam non ultrà discordia civium reprimi poterat, et tribunis et plebe incitatâ[25] in Patres, quum dies alicui nobilium dicta novis semper certaminibus conciones turbaret. Ad[26] quarum primum strepitum, velut signo eccepto, arma cepêre Æqui ac Volsci; simul quòd[27] parsuaserant iis duces, cupidi prædarum, biennio antè deelctum indictum haberi non potuisse, abnuente jam plebe imperium; "eò adversùs se non esse missos exer-"citus; dissolvi licentiâ militandi morem; nec pro "communi jam patriâ Romam esse. Quicquid irarum "simultatumque cum externis fuerit, in ipsos verti; oc-"cæcatos lupos intestinâ rabie opprimendi occasionem "esse." Conjunctis exercitibus Latinum primùm agrum perpopulati sunt; deinde, postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, tum verò, exsultantibus belli auctoribus, ad mœnia ipsa Romæ populabundi regione portæ Esquilinæ[28] accessêre, vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi ostentantes; unde postquam inulti, prædam præ se agentes, retro ad Corbionem agmine iêre, Quinctius consul ad concionem populum vocavit.

LXVII. Ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio: "Etsi mihi nullius noxæ conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen "cum pudore summo in concionem vestram processi. "Hoc vos scire, hoc posteris memoriæ traditum iri, "Æquos et Volscos, vix Hernicis modò pares[29], T. "Quinctio quartùm consule, ad mœnia urbis Romæ "impunè armatos venisse. Hanc ego ignominiam, "(quanquam jam diu ita vivitur[30], is status rerum "est, ut nihil boni divinet animus) si huic potissimùm "imminere anno scîssem, vel exsilio, vel morte, si "alia fuga honoris non esset[31], vitâssem. Ergo, si "viri arma illa[32] habuissent, quæ in portis fuêre nostris, "capi Roma me consule potuit? Satìs honorum, satìs "superque vitæ, erat[33]. Mori consulem tertiùm oportuit. "Quem tandem ignavissimi hostium contempsêre? nos "consules? an vos Quirites? Si culpa in nobis est, "auferte imperium indignis; et, si id parum est, in-"super pœnas expetite. Si in vobis, nemo deorum "nec hominum sit, qui vestra puniat peccata, Quirites; "vosmet tantùm eorum pœniteat. Non illi vestram "ignaviam[34] contempsêre, nec suæ virtuti confisi sunt; "quippe, toties fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro "mulctati[35], sub jugum missi, et se et vos novêre. "Discordia ordinum est venenum urbis hujus, Patrum "ac plebis certamina. Dum nec nobis imperii, nec "vobis libertatis, est modus, dum tædet vos patricio-"orum, hos[36] plebeiorum magistratuum, sustulêre illi "animos. Prô deûm fidem, quid vobis vultis? Tribu-"nos plebis concupîstis; concordiæ causâ concessimus. "Decemviros desiderâstis; creari passi sumus. Decem-"virorum vos pertæsum est; coëgimus abire magistratu. "Manente in eosdem privatos irâ vestrâ, mori atque ex-"sulare nobilissimos viros honoratissimosque passi su-"mus. Tribunos plebis creare iterum voluistis; creâstis. "Consules facere[37] vestrarum partium etsi Patribus "videbamus iniquum, patricium quoque magistratum "plebi donum fieri vidimus. Auxilium tribunicium, "provocationem ad populum, scita plebis injuncta "Patribus[38], sub titulo æquandarum legum nostra jura "oppressa, tulimus et ferimus. Qui finis erit discor-"diarum? Ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando

"communem hanc esse patriam, licebit? Victi nos "æquiore animo quiescimus, quàm vos victores. Sa-"tìsne est nobis vos metuendos esse? Adversùs nos "Aventinum capitur, adversùs nos Sacer occupatur "mons[39]. Esquilias quidem ab hoste propè captas[40], "et scandentem in aggerem[41] Volscum hostem nemo "submovit; in nos, viri, in nos, armati estis.

LXVIII. "Agitedum, ubi hîc curiam circumsederitis, "et forum infestum feceritis[42], et carcerem impleveritis "principibus, iisdem istis ferocibus animis egredimini "extra portam Esquilinam; aut, si ne hoc quidem aude-"tis, ex muris visite[43] agros vestros ferro ignique vas-"tatos, prædam abigi, fumare incensa passim tecta. At "enim communis res per hæc loco est pejore[44]; ager "uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penès hostes est. "Quid tandem? privatæ res vestræ in quo statu sunt? "Jam unicuique ex agris sua damna nunciabuntur. Quid "est tandem domi, unde ea expleatis? Tribuni vobis "amissa reddent ac restituent[45]? vocis verborumque "quantum voletis, ingerent, et criminum, in principes[46], "et legum aliarum super alias, et concionum. Sed ex "illis concionibus nunquam vestrûm quisquam re[47], for-"tunâ, domum auctior rediit. Ecquis retulit aliquid "ad conjugem ac liberos, præter odia, offensiones, "simultates publicas privatasque? à quibus semper non "vestrâ virtute innocentiâque, sed auxilio alieno, tuti "sitis[48]. At, Hercules, quum stipendia[49], nobis con-"sulibus, non tribunis, ducibus, et in castris, non in "foro, faciebatis, et in acie[50] vestrum clamorem hostes, "non in concione Patres Romani, horrebant, prædâ "partâ, agro ex hoste capto, pleni fortunarum glori-"æque, simul publicæ, simul privatæ, triumphantes "domum ad Penates redibatis, nunc oneratum vestris "fortunis hostem abire sinitis. Hærete affixi conci-"onibus, et in foro vivite; sequitur vos necessitas "militandi, quam fugitis. Grave erat in Æquos et "Volscos proficisci? Ante portas est bellum. Si "inde non pellitur, jam intra mœnia erit, et arcem et "Capitolium scandet, et in domos vestras vos perseque-"tur. Biennio antè[51] senatus delectum haberi, et educi "exercitum in Algidum jussit. Sedemus desides domi,

"mulierum ritu inter nos altercantes, præsenti pace "læti, nec cernentes ex otio illo brevì multiplex bellum "rediturum. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed "me vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non "moneret[52], necessitas cogit. Vellem equidem vobis "placere, Quirites; sed multò malo vos salvos esse, "qualicunque erga me animo futuri[53] estis. Naturâ "hoc ita comparatum est, ut, qui apud multitudinem "suâ causâ loquitur, gratior eo sit, cujus mens nihil, "præter publicum commodum, videt; nisi fortè as-"sentatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui vos nec in "armis nec in otio esse sinunt, vestrâ vos causâ incitare "et stimulare putatis. Concitati, aut honori, aut "quæstui, illis estis; et quia in concordiâ ordinum "nullos se usquam esse vident, malæ rei se, quàm "nullius, turbarum ac seditionum, duces esse volunt[54]. "Quarum rerum si vos tædium tandem capere potest, "et patrum vestrosque antiquos mores vultis pro his "novis sumere, nulla supplicia recuso, nisi paucis "diebus hos populatores agrorum nostrorum, fusos "fugatosque castris exuero, et à portis nostris mœnibus-"que ad illorum urbes hunc belli terrorem, quo nunc "vos attoniti estis, transtulero."

LXIX. Rarò aliàs tribuni popularis oratio acceptior plebi, quàm tunc severissimi consulis, fuit. Juventus quoque, quæ inter tales metus detractationem[55] militiæ telum acerrimum adversùs Patres habere solita erat, arma et bellum spectabat[56]; et agrestium fuga, spoliatique in agris, et vulnerati, fœdiora iis, quæ subjiciebantur oculis, nunciantes, totam urbem irâ implevêre. In senatum ubi ventum est, ibi verò in Quinctium omnes versi, ut unum vindicem majestatis Romanæ intueri[57]; et primores Patrum "dignam" dicere "concionem "imperio consulari, dignam tot consulatibus anteactis, "dignam vitâ omni, plenâ honorum sæpè gestorum, "sæpius meritorum. Alios consules aut per proditionem "dignitatis Patrum plebi adulatos, aut acerbè tuendo "jura ordinis asperiorem domando multitudinem fecisse. "T. Quinctium orationem memorem majestatis[58] Patrum, "concordiæque ordinum, et temporum in primis "habuisse. Orare eum collegamque, ut capesserent

"rempublicam[59]; orare tribunos, ut uno animo cum con-"sulibus bellum ab urbe ac mœnibus propulsari vellent, "plebemque obedientem in re tam trepidâ Patribus "præberent; appellare tribunos communem patriam[60], "auxiliumque eorum implorare, vastatis agris, urbe "propè oppugnatâ." Consensu omnium delectus decernitur habeturque. Quum consules in concione pronunciâssent, "Tempus non esse causas cognoscendi[61]; "omnes juniores postero die primâ luce in campo Martio "adessent; cognoscendis causis eorum, qui nomina non "dedissent, bello perfecto, se daturos tempus; pro "desertore futurum, cujus non probâssent causam," omnis juventus adfuit postero die. Cohortes sibi quæque centuriones legerunt[62]; bini senatores singulis cohortibus præpositi. Hæc omnia adeò maturè perfecta accepimus, ut signa eo ipso die à quæstoribus ex ærario prompta delataque in Campum[63], quartâ diei horâ mota ex Campo, sint; exercitusque novus, paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus[64], manserit ad decimum lapidem. Insequens dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt conjuncta[65]. Tertio die, quum ira Romanos, illos, quum toties rebellâssent, conscientia culpæ ac desperatio, irritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

LXX. In exercitu Romano quum duo consules essent potestate pari, quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii[66], concedente Agrippâ, penès collegam erat; et prælatus ille[67] facilitati submittentis se comiter respondebat, communicando consilia laudesque, et æquando imparem sibi. In acie Quinctius dextrum cornu, Agrippa sinistrum, tenuit; Sp. Postumio Albo legato datur media acies tuenda; legatum alterum Ser. Sulpicium equitibus præficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregiè pugnavêre, haud segniter resistentibus Volscis. Ser. Sulpicius per mediam hostium aciem cum equitatu perrupit; unde quum eâdem reverti posset ad suos, priusquam hostis turbatos ordines reficeret, terga impugnare hostium satiùs visum est; momentoque temporis, in aversam incursando aciem[68], ancipiti terrore dissipâsset hostes, ni suo proprio eum prœlio equites Volscorum et Æquorum exceptum ali-

quamdiu tenuissent. Ibi verò Sulpicius negare, "cunctandi tempus esse; circumventos interclusosque ab suis[69] vociferans, "ni equestre prœlium connisi omni "vi perficerent. Nec fugare equitem integrum[70] satìs "esse; conficerent equos virosque, ne quis reveheretur "indè ad prœlium, aut integraret pugnam; non posse "illos resistere sibi, quibus conferta peditum acies ces-"sisset." Haud surdis auribus dicta; impressione unâ totum equitatum fudêre; magnam vim ex equis præcipitavêre; ipsos equosque spiculis confodêre. Is finis pugnæ equestris fuit. Tunc, adorti peditum aciem, nuncios ad consules rei gestæ mittunt, ubi jam inclinabatur hostium acies. Nuncius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit, et referentes gradum perculit Æquos. In mediâ primùm acie vinci cœpti, quâ permissus equitatus[71] turbaverat ordines. Sinistrum deinde cornu ab Quinctio consule pelli cœptum; in dextro plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa, ætate viribusque ferox, quum omni parte pugnæ meliùs res geri, quàm apud se, videret, accepta signa ab signiferis ipse inferre, quædam jacere etiam in confertos hostes, cœpit. Cujus ignominiæ metu concitati milites, invasêre hostem; ita æquata ex omni parte victoria est. Nuncius tum à Quinctio venit, "victorem "jam se imminere hostium castris; nolle irrumpere, "antequam sciat debellatum et in sinistro cornu esse. "Si jam fudisset hostes, conferret ad se signa, ut simul "omnis exercitus prædâ potiretur." Victor Agrippa cum mutuâ gratulatione ad victorem collegam castraque hostium venit. Ibi, paucis defendentibus momentoque fusis, sine certamine in munitiones irrumpunt, prædâque ingenti compotem exercitum[72], suis etiam rebus recuperatis, quæ populatione agrorum amissæ erant, reducunt. Triumphum nec ipsos postulâsse, nec delatum iis ab senatu, accipio; nec traditur causa spreti aut non sperati honoris[73]. Ego quantùm in tanto intervallo temporum conjicio, quum Valerio atque Horatio consulibus, qui, præter Volscos et Æquos, Sabini etiam belli perfecti gloriam pepererant, negatus ab senatu triumphus[74] esset, verecundiæ fuit[75] pro parte dimidiâ rerum consulibus petere triumphum; ne etiam, si impetrâssent, magis hominum ratio, quàm meritorum, habita videretur.

LXXI. Victoriam honestam, ex hostibus partam, turpe domi de finibus sociorum judicium populi deformavit. Aricini atque Ardeates, de ambiguo agro quum sæpe bello certâssent, multis invicem cladibus fessi, judicem populum Romanum cepêre. Quum ad causam orandam venissent, concilio populi à magistratibus dato, magnâ contentione actum; jamque editis testibus, quum tribus vocari, et populum inire suffragium, oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe, magno natu, et, "Si "licet," inquit, "consules, de republicâ dicere, errare "ego populum in hâc causâ non patiar." Quum, ut vanum, eum negarent consules audiendum esse, vociferantemque, "prodi publicam causam," submoveri jussissent, tribunos appellat. Tribuni, ut ferè semper reguntur à multitudine magìs, quàm regunt, dedêre cupidæ audiendi plebi, ut, quæ vellet, Scaptius diceret. Ibi infit, "Annum se tertium et octogesimum agere, et "in eo agro, de quo agitur, militâsse, non juvenem, "vicesima jam stipendia merentem, quum ad Coriolos "sit bellatum[76]. Eò rem se vetustate obliteratam, ceterùm suæ memoriæ infixam, afferre: agrum, de quo "ambigitur, finium Coriolanorum fuisse, captisque Coriolis, jure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari "se, quonam more[77] Ardeates Aricinique, cujus agri jus "nunquam usurpaverint incolumi Coriolanâ re, eum se "à populo Romano, quem pro domino judicem fecerint, "intercepturos sperent. Sibi exiguum vitæ tempus "superesse; non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum, "quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset, "eum senex quoque voce, quâ unâ posset, vindicaret. "Magnopere se suadere populo, ne inutili pudore suam "ipse causam damnaret.

LXXII. Consules, quum Scaptium non silentio modò, sed cum assensu etiam, audiri animadvertissent, deos hominesque testantes flagitium ingens fieri, Patrum primores arcessunt. Cum his circumire tribunos[78], orare, "Ne pessimum facinus pejore exemplo admitterent "judices, in suam rem litem vertendo[79]; quum præsertim, etiamsi fas sit[80] curam emolumenti sui judici "esse, nequaquam tantum agro intercipiendo acquiratur, quantum amittatur alienandis injuriâ sociorum

"animis. Nam famæ quidem ac fidei damna majora "esse, quàm quæ æstimari possent. Hoc legatos "referre domum; hoc vulgari; hoc socios audire; hoc "hostes; quo cum dolore hos? quo cum gaudio illos[81]? "Scaptione hoc, concionali seni[82], assignaturos puta-"rent finitimos populos? Clarum hâc fore imagine "Scaptium[83]; populum Romanum quadruplatoris et in-"terceptoris litis alienæ personam laturum[84]; quem "enim hoc privatæ rei judicem fecisse, ut sibi contro-"versiosam adjudicaret rem[85]? Scaptium ipsum id "quidem, etsi præmortui jam sit pudoris, non factu-"rum." Hæc consules, hæc Patres, vociferantur. Sed plus cupiditas, et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius, valet. Vocatæ tribus judicaverunt agrum publicum populi Romani esse. Nec abnuitur ita fuisse, si ad judices alios itum foret; nunc haud sanè quidquam bono causæ levatur dedecus judicii[86], idque non Aricinis Ardeatibusque, quàm Patribus Romanis, fœdius atque acerbius visum. Reliquum anni quietum ab urbanis motibus et ab externis mansit.

NOTES TO BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—[1] *Ad Cremeram.*] This event happened ten years before this time; see B. 2. c. 50. He was then near the age of puberty; so that he had not arrived at the usual age for election to the consulship; yet Valerius Corvus was consul at the age of twenty-three; (see B. 7. c. 26;) Scipio Africanus the elder, at the age of twenty-eight; T. Q. Flaminius, before thirty; and Pompey at thirty-six. The legal age for the office was forty-three, and not until the party had passed through the several offices of quæstor, ædile, and prætor.

[2] *Et agrarii.*] "Both the advocates of the Agrarian law, and the tribunes."—See B. 27. c. 21.—Cic. Cat. 4. 2.

[3] *Tribuniciis.*] "Complaining that a man, holding the first office in the state, vaunted himself on favouring the proceedings of the tribunes, and, by bestowing favours out of the property of others, was becoming a supporter of the populace."—See Cic Cat. 4. 5.

[4] *A Volscis esse.*] Scil. *captum.*

[5] *Creat.*] "He gets triumvirs to be created for dividing the land." *Creare* is often applied to the magistrate who presided at an election, or through whose means the election was decided.—See B. 2. c. 33.—B. 3. c. 35. 54.—B. 5. c. 31.

CHAP. II.—[6] *Intra castra.*] "Necessary repose confined to the camp the army, which was seized with disease." The sentence may, I think, be better explained thus: "inactivity, which within the camp was unavoidable, afflicted the army with sickness." *Implicitum tenuit,* the same as *implicuit.* Livy often uses such phrases.

[7] *Haud dubiâ spe.*] "With a confident hope that the fame of his name would reduce the Æqui to peace." *Extra ordinem,* synonymous with *extra sortem,* means "that no lots were cast for it," as was usually the case.

[8] *Ultores.*] This word, like *ulciscor,* has a twofold signification: it means either "one who punishes an aggressor," as here

"who takes vengeance for an act;" or, "one who rescues a man who is injured or oppressed."

[9] *Etiam nunc.*] "Even now." *i. e.* After the Æqui had by their misconduct disentitled themselves to his good wishes for them.

[10] *Diis magis iratis.*] The gods showing more hostility against them than their enemies.

[11] *Longam venire.*] "That a long night was coming." *i. e.* That the approaching night would be a very long one, as it would delay the battle.

[12] *Constitit.*] "Took their ground somewhat sooner than the Æqui."

[13] *Et desperatio.*] "And despair of any trust being reposed in them ever after."

CHAP. III.—[14] *Audita incerta.*] "Reports, which they could not be certain of;" as they only heard, and did not see the facts. *Eoque vaniora,* "and therefore more empty" or "unfounded."

[15] *Increpans.*] "Telling them in terms of reproach, that enemies, whom they had conquered, became objects of terror to them."

[16] *Justitio.*] This properly means a public suspension of all law-business: (from *jus* and *sisto;*) an adjournment of court.—See c. 27. It usually took place on occasions of public grief or fear; during its continuance all private business also was wont to be suspended.

[17] *Præfecto.*] See B. 1. c. 59.

[18] *Census.*] See B. 1. c. 42. 44. Valer. Max. says that the *census* was taken four times by Servius Tullius; in the reign of Tarq. Superbus it was omitted. Dionysius says that, after that reign, it was taken four times. This was the ninth census.

[19] *Orbos orbasque.*] "Male and female orphans." Crevier says that women, children, slaves, merchants, strangers, and mechanics, were also excluded; and that their number was treble that of the citizens who were registered. Those mechanics and merchants were mostly strangers, as the early Romans pursued no other profession but agriculture or arms.

CHAP. IV.—[20] *Furios.*] "The Furii some writers have written Fusii." The Romans formerly used *s* for *r;* thus, Valerius and Furius were originally written Valesius and Fusius.

[21] *Certavêre.*] "Rivalled one another in their hatred to the Romans."

[22] *Ecetranum.*] "The inhabitants of Ecetra."

[23] *Suâ sponte infidos.*] "Who were already faithless of themselves."

[24] *Excitis.*] "Being summoned to Rome."

[25] *Haud gravati.*] "Without reluctance.'

[26] *Videre.*] A commission, couched in these words, invested a consul with absolute power, but was resorted to only in cases of extreme public danger.

[27] *Pro consule.*] This is the first mention made in Livy of a proconsul.

CHAP. V.—[28] *Decumanâ portâ.*] The Roman camp was generally square, and had four gates; one in front of the enemy called *prætoria,* as it was near the *prætorium,* or general's tent; this was also called *extraordinaria;* see B. 40. c. 27; two on the sides, right and left, called *principales;* see B. 34. c. 46; one at the rere called *quæstoria,* because, in the early ages, the *quæstorium,* or quæstor's tent, was near it; see B. 10. c. 32.—B. 34. c. 27; this was also called *decumana,* because the tenth cohorts, *decimæ cohortes,* were quartered there. There were generally many legions together in one camp in the first ages; in aftertimes each legion often encamped separately. Every legion was divided into ten cohorts. The first cohorts of these several legions were quartered near the *prætorium,* so called from the title of *prætor,* or commander, which was a name at first given to the consul, as he was commander of the army; afterwards it was given to the magistrate appointed to discharge the judicial functions of the consul. Then behind these first cohorts, in regular order of succession, were quartered all the others to the tenth or last, which were quartered in the extreme rere of the camp. In aftertimes the *quæstorium* was on one side of the *prætorium;* and on the other side, the tents of the general officers. Near the *quæstorium* was the forum or market-place. The camp was divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, which were separated by a broad open space, called *principia,* running the breadth of the camp, and lying directly between the *portæ principales,* which derived that name from it. In this the general's tribunal was erected; the tribunes of the soldiers held their courts, and punishments were inflicted. The principal standards also, and the altars of the gods, stood there. In the lower part of the camp most of the army was quartered, the cavalry occupying the middle. In each tent there were usually ten soldiers, called *contubernales.* Every camp had eight roads or passages, five running from front to rear, and three from side to side; besides by-ways, and spaces between the tents. See Lipsius on the Roman Art of War.

[29] *Nec spe nec viribus pares.*] Unequal in hope and strength, to what they were, when besieged the first time.

[30] *Peregrinis copiis.*] These words are put in apposition with *Latino Hernicoque exercitu,* which should either be written before *peregrinis copiis,* or must have been an interpolation of some transcriber, because *peregrinis copiis* and *Latino Hernicoque exercitu* are identical expressions, as appears from the preceding chapter. The transposition of *cum* would fully remove the difficulty, that commentators speak of here, by reading either *peregrinis cum copiis,* or *cum peregrinis copiis.*

[31] *Simul ad signum.*] "At the same time a sally being made from the camp on a signal given by himself at a distance."

[32] *Antias Valerius.*] This writer lived in the times of the Sibyl. Livy has no great reliance on his regard for truth.—See B. 26. c. 49.—B. 36. c. 38. This word *audet* here shows that he does not think him entitled to much credit. This word conveys the same sentiment in Juvenal, Sat. 10, 175, *et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ.*

[33] *Defunctam . . . cæde.*] "By no means escaped with such little slaughter."—See B. 2. c. 35. n. 38.

[34] *Mille milites.*] These words are put in apposition to *Antiates.* So, *Galli, magna hominum vis,* B. 38. c. 16.

CHAP. VI.—[35] *Principium anni.*] *i. e.* Of the consular year, not the civil year, which, from the time of Numa, began on the first of January. The time, on which magistrates entered on their office, varied very much until the year 599, (see B. 47. c. 36,) when it was fixed that consuls should ever after enter into office on the calends of January.

[36] *Grave tempus.*] The season of the year, *i. e.* the autumn, was unwholesome in itself, and in addition to this there was a plague that year.—See ch. 8, at the beginning.

[37] *Ministeria.*] "Their attendance on one another, and the mere circumstance of contact, were spreading the infection." *Contagio* the same here as *contactus.*

[38] *Sustinentibus.*] "While they could scarcely bear up against the calamities that pressed upon them, the ambassadors of the Hernici suddenly announce, &c."

[39] *Tristi nuncio.*] *i. e.* The tidings of invasion which they had carried to Rome.

[40] *Vastatos.*] Desolated by the pestilence.

[41] *Viribus sufficerent.*] "Were sufficient in strength." *Vires sufficerent* is another way of expressing the same sentiment.

[42] *Circuitio ac cura ædilium plebi erat.*] "The charge of visiting and taking care of the watches was undertaken by the ædiles of the people." This is the first time mention is made of these, though they were created along with the tribunes of the people. See B. 2. c. 33. n. 4.

CHAP. VII.—[43] *Tumuli.*] "The hills of Rome;" they were within three miles of them, and had them in full view.

[44] *Fremitu.*] "A murmur rising in the camp, (*i. e.* among the soldiers,) asking why they should waste time, &c."

[45] *Obsessis.*] Livy does not intend to say what really happened, but what the allies thought had happened. Yet Dionysius says, that they had actually attacked Rome, but had failed.

[46] *Æquo prælio.*] This is the same as *æquo Marte.* The Latins and Hernici were defeated.—See B. 1. c. 33. n. 98.

[47] *Quanta.*] "The havoc caused by pestilence at Rome was not less than what was caused by the sword among the allies." *Strages haud minor Romæ fit, quàm tanta strages sociorum fuit, quanta ferro facta erat.*

[48] *Curio.*] Each of the thirty *curiæ*, into which the city was divided by Romulus, had a priest to officiate for them, called *curio;* and the *curio maximus*, who was elected at the *comitia curiata*, presided over them.

CHAP. VIII.—[49] *Interregna.*] See B. 1. c. 17, for the origin of this; the name and office lasted even after the expulsion of the kings. Whenever there happened to be no curule magistrate, the patricians met, *coiêre*, and appointed an *interrex*, whose power lasted only five days. And they continued to create such temporary magistrates, until the *comitia* for creating consuls, or military tribunes with consular power, were held.

[50] *Vetusius.*] See c. 4. n. 20.

[51] *In re subitâ.*] "More from the suddenness of the circumstance, ——." *In* in Latin and English, and ἐν in Greek, are sometimes found to signify "cause, manner, or instrument."

[52] *Exploratis.*] "Having discovered all their lines of march."

[53] *Quum exitus haud in facili.*] "When an escape was not easy."

[54] *Tertia illa pugna.*] *i. e.* The battle between the united forces of the consuls, and the united forces of the Æqui and Volsci.

CHAP. IX.—[55] *Soluti atque effrænati.*] "Being unrestrained and headstrong themselves."

[56] *Legem.*] Hitherto all questions of dispute were mostly decided by the will of the kings and consuls; therefore, Terentillus wished that there should be a regular and fixed code of laws, by which the State should in future be governed.

[57] *Creentur legibus . . . . scribendis.*] See a similar structure, ch. 1. n. 5.

[58] *Ut nihil.*] "That there was no kind of threat or intimidation omitted by him, which, even if both the consuls in the utmost fury stood round the tribune, they could supply." He was as violent as they could possibly be.

[59] *Tempore capto.*] "Having seized a favourable opportunity."

[60] *Sisti.*] See B. 2. c. 29. n. 52.

[61] *Non illud consulare.*] "That such conduct was rendering, not the power of the consuls, but the influence of the tribunes, odious and intolerable; which, from being in a state of peace and reconciliation with the patricians, was about to be driven back into its old mischievous practices; nor would he beg of him not to proceed as he began." Accordingly, in the next sentence, he makes an appeal to the other tribunes.

[62] *Ne Æqui.*] "Even the Æqui and Volsci did not press upon us, &c." *i. e.* Even these, our enemies, behaved more humanely to us than this tribune.

[63] *Dilatâque.*] "Being in appearance put off; but, in reality, withdrawn entirely." It was withdrawn for the present year only; for on the following year it was revived by the whole college of tribunes. But Walker thinks that Livy applies the words to

the "intention" of the patricians. They wished to all appearance that the question should be only put off for a time, but in reality they wished that it should be altogether withdrawn. I think rather that Livy speaks about a real fact, as B. 2. c. 61. n. 12. The tribunes induced Terentillus to allow the consideration of the question to be deferred until the consuls arrived; it was accordingly, to all appearances at that time, only deferred, not abandoned altogether, although it afterwards turned out to be wholly abandoned for that year.

CHAP. X.—[64] *Auget.*] "He adds to his glory on his arrival, by exposing, &c. &c."

[65] *Id antiquius.*] The consul thought the affair of his triumph of greater importance, and that it should be determined first. The tribune, on the other hand, thought that it ought to be deferred until the law had been passed; so that the question between the two, whether the law or the triumph should be decided first, was in agitation for some days, until the tribune at last allowed the consul to carry his point.—See B. 1. c. 32. n. 81. for the meaning of *antiquius*. It would appear from this contest between the tribune and consul, that the consul was in the city; whereas, generally the consul was obliged to wait outside the city, until the triumph was decreed him.

[66] *Ovans.*] An ovation was an honour inferior to the triumph. In the ovation, the general entered the city, not in a chariot, but on foot; dressed, not in the *trabea*, but in the *prætexta* only; crowned with myrtle, in place of laurel; and attended by a band of flute-players; a sheep, *ovis*, (hence the name) and not a bull, was sacrificed on the occasion.

[67] *Bovem locutam.*] The ox had spoken the year before, a fact which was not then believed; but the appearance of other prodigies this year gained it credit.

[68] *Carnem pluit.*] *Pluere* is often found with an ablative.—So B. 1. c. 31, *lapidibus pluisse.*

[69] *Mutaret.*] This verb, like *verto* and many others, is often neuter.

[70] *Libri.*] It is said that when Tarquinius Superbus was building the capitol, an old woman came and offered him nine books for a certain sum, which he refused to give; on this she retired, and, having burned three, returned, and demanded the same sum for the remaining six, which he again refused to give. She retired a second time, and, having burned three more, still demanded the same sum for the remaining three. Tarquin, struck by the singularity of the circumstance, consulted the augurs, who recommended him to purchase them at any price. These books, which were supposed to contain prophetic information about the fate and fortune of the Roman state, were carefully deposited in a stone chest, in a vault under the capitol; and two officers were chosen from the order of the patrician

called *duumviri sacrorum*, (to distinguish them from other officers, called *duumviri*,) to take care of them. The number of these was afterwards increased to ten, one-half plebeians; and again further increased to fifteen by Sylla, on which occasion they were called *quindecemviri*, which name they retained, even when increased to sixty; their office lasted for life, and they were exempted from civil and military duties. On occasions of extreme danger, pestilence, or any extraordinary prodigy, the duumviri were ordered by the senate to consult these books, and they reported what expiations and other rites were necessary to avert the impending evil. In the Marsic war, A. U. C. 670, the capitol being burned, these books were destroyed. Whereupon, ambassadors were sent everywhere to collect what Sibylline verses could be found, and, out of these, new books were made; which Augustus, after having burned all other prophetic books, deposited in two gilt vases under the statue of Apollo in his temple on the Palatine Hill.

[71] *Qui impetus.*] "Any attack." *Qui* for *quis*, and *quinam* for *quisnam*, are often used by Livy.—See B. 6. c. 32.—B. 9. c. 17.

[72] *Ut idem.*] "That the same circle of events might revolve every year."

[73] *Ecetræ.*] "That the colonists of Antium were holding their councils, not at Antium, but Ecetra," in order to avoid the suspicion of the Romans.—See ch. 4.—*Id caput* refers to the Antiates.

[74] *Tribuni coram.*] "The tribunes loudly declared before their faces in the forum, that this farce of the Volscian war was a made-up one; that the Hernici were procured to act their part."

[75] *Quia.*] "That new enemies were sought for, because it was now incredible that the Volscians, &c."

[76] *Relegatione.*] This was a temporary and minor sort of banishment, by which neither civil rights nor property were lost.

[77] *Ne quid.*] Let not the people think there was anything else in agitation between the patricians and consuls.

[78] *Cavisse.*] *i. e.* By the defeat of the Æqui and Volsci.

CHAP. XI.—[79] *Coorta.*] The force of this expression is, that they "all arose together" to acts of violence.

[80] *Neque suum cuique jus.*] *i. e.* No one confined himself within the limits of his official authority.

[81] *Quod intenderes.*] This means the same as *quod quisque intenderet.* The second person is often thus used for the third. So B. 2. c. 35. 43.

[82] *Comitiales.*] These were days on which public assemblies could be held to transact public business.—see B. 1. c. 19. *Dies fasti* were properly those days appointed only to transact court-business, and these were not *dies comitiales;* but on the

dies comitiales, court-business could be transacted, provided no public questions had been agitated in the assembly of the people.

[83] *Discedere.*] "To go for the purpose of giving their votes." Each tribe passed in succession, according as it was called, through a narrow passage, called *pons,* into the booth, called *ovile,* to record its vote.

[84] *Submoveri.*] They remained obstinately in the same place with their dependants, to prevent the people from arranging themselves in their proper tribes to vote; they would not suffer themselves to be removed.

[85] *Abstinebant.*] "Kept themselves very much out of the way."

[86] *Colluvione rerum.*] "In such foul confusion."

[87] *Non linguâ.*] "Readier either in tongue or hand." Many instances of this use of *non* after a negative occur in Livy and the best writers.

[88] *Capitis diem.*] So B. 2. c. 52, *capitis anquisissent.*—See c. 13. n. 3.

[89] *Criminibus suis.*] "The charges which he was about to bring against him."

[90] *Ab juventute.*] "By the younger patricians." Livy very often uses this word in this sense.

CHAP. XII.—[91] *Libertatem agi.*] "That their liberty depended on the condemnation of Kæso."

[92] *Indignitate.*] Indignation.—See B. 1. c. 40.

[93] *Suum primum.*] "That he himself was the first he served under, and that in his presence he often fought against the enemy." Crevier thinks that *suum primum militem fuisse,* may mean, "that he was his most distinguished soldier."

[94] *Rem restitutam.*] "The honour of the state was restored." —See ch. 4. and 5.

[95] *Suadere.*] "He advised and warned them to prefer that such an extraordinary youth, endowed with all the blessings of nature and fortune, and who would prove the greatest support of whatever state he would go to, would continue rather a citizen of their own, than become a citizen of a foreign state. That his heat and boldness, the qualities in him that give offence, age would daily take away."

[96] *Senescentibus vitiis.*] "That as his faults were on the decline, &c."

[97] *Sibi ut condonarent filium.*] "That they would pardon the son in compliment to himself."—See. B. 2. c. 35. n. 43.—Cæs. Bell. Gall. 1. 20. n.

[98] *Aversabantur.*] "Turned away from these entreaties," *i. e.* would not make him an answer. So Tac. Ann. 6. 26, *aversatus sermonem.* They respected or dreaded him too much to give a flat refusal.

[99] *Præferebant.*] Commentators differ in their explanation of this word. Some say it means, "they publicly avowed," like *præ*

se ferebant; others interpret it, "they showed beforehand, by their stern answer, the sentence they would give."

CHAP. XIII.—[1] *Grassantem.*] "Rioting in the Suburra." This was the part of the city, from which the first city tribe was called *Suburrana.*

[2] *Exsequi.*] "That he was not allowed to prosecute."

[3] *Capitalis rei dies dicta.*] A day appointed for the trial of a capital charge.—See c. 11. n. 88.

[4] *Medio decreto expediunt.*] The force of *expediunt* is this: the tribunes were in a sort of dilemma between Kæso and the tribune Virginius; they wished to support the tribune, but had a right to receive the appeal of Kæso; therefore they extricated themselves by passing a decree, which adopted a middle course, *i. e.* which conceded something to both.

[5] *Sisti reum.*] "That the accused should be brought to trial;" placed at the bar, as we say.

[6] *In publico.*] "In public custody."

[7] *Unum vadem.*] "Each bail."

[8] *Finierunt.*] "They fixed the number at ten."

[9] *Tot vadibus.*] "On so many sureties did the prosecutor admit the accused to bail."

[10] *Vades publicos.*] Whose money, if forfeited, was to be applied to the use of the public.

[11] *Excusaretur.*] "When on the day of trial it was offered as a plea that he went into voluntary exile, nevertheless, Virginius presiding in the assembly, his colleagues, when appealed to, dismissed the meeting," *i. e.* they refused to receive the defence set up against paying the fine. *Solum vertere exilii causâ* is a phrase often used by Livy to signify "to go into voluntary exile."—See c. 58.

[12] *Pecunia.*] His father indemnified the sureties for the money which they paid for Kæso.

CHAP. XIV.—[13] *Possessione reipublicæ cessissent.*] "And (when) the senior part of the patricians gave up the administration of affairs, ——." Scil. *quod patrum pertineret ad seniores.*

[14] *Id maximè.*] These words can admit of two significations; they mean either "particularly that portion of the young nobility that were Kæso's companions," (see B. 5. c. 22. 25.) or, "did what was above all others consistent with the conduct of Kæso's companions."

[15] *Sed ibi . . . quòd.*] "But there they gained a very great advantage, in that they in some measure moderated their violence." Drakenborch says *ibi* is used for *tum.* But Walker says it is the same as *in eo,* as in Ter. Adel. 5. 4. 13, *uxorem duxi: quam ibi miseriam vidi?* So *alibi* often means *in aliis rebus.* Drakenborch and Walker's interpretations of the word however amount to the same.

[16] *Submoventes.*] "Ordering them to retire."—See c. 11. n. 84.

[17] *Ut nemo.*] "That no one carried home a greater share than another, either of glory from their own party, or of obloquy from

the plebeians." So completely alike were the efforts of all. *Nemo unus,* like *Romanus nemo,* c. 60.

[18] *Placidius.*] "Showed greater meekness of disposition." *Quietius,* "greater quietness of conduct."

[19] *Adesse.*] "Stood by them;" became their advocates. The word is often taken in this sense.—See B. 3. c. 44.—B. 4. c. 8. —Hor. Sat. 9. B. 1.

[20] *Alibi.*] On other occasions.

[21] *Tranquillò.*] "And the tribunes not only carried their other measures in quietness——." *Tranquillus* is properly applied to things, as, *mare tranquillum,* "a sea not disturbed by tempests." It has a meaning purely passive, and is not applied to the body. *Quietus* has both an active and passive meaning, and is applied to persons as well as things.

[22] *Ne voce quidem.*] "Without one offensive expression, much less any violence being used." It would, say some, be much better to connect these words with the preceding clause, and have a full stop at *fieret.* But, by understanding *sed* before *paullatim,* the present reading is quite natural.—See B. 1. c. 25. n. 82.

[23] *Mansuefecerunt.*] Scil. *juvenes patricii.*

Chap. XV.—[24] *Ferendæ.*] The tribunes "proposed," the people "received," the law.

[25] *Quantùm.*] This is often used for *quanto,* as here.—See B. 5. c. 10.

[26] *Statum.*] "A war from the Æqui and Volsci, which became now a stated one, and returned regularly almost every year, was a subject of apprehension."

[27] *Quingenti.*] For *quingentos.* Livy often writes thus; so Horace uses *duo* for *duos;* Hor. Sat. B. 1. 7.

[28] *Cædes eorum.*] It is more likely that these were the inhabitants of the Capitoline Hill, than the guards of the capitol. Dionysius expressly says they were; and Livy himself, B. 6. c. 20, and 5. c. 50, says these parts were inhabited. *Arce* here means "the hill."

[29] *Incerto hoste.*] "Not knowing who the enemy was;" more literally, "the enemy not being accurately known."—So Sall. Jug. c. 49, *incerti, quidnam esset.* This word, in the next sentence, and indeed generally, has a different meaning.

[30] *Ad opportuna.*] "In proper places through all the city." *Omnis* is often put for *totus.*

[31] *Servitiis.*] For *servis.* So we find *remigium* for *remiges; ministerium* for *ministri; ergastula* for *servi; advocatio* for *advocati; dominatio* for *domini; operæ* for *operarii;* and the like. So, in Greek, we find θεραπεία for θεράποντες.

Chap. XVI.—[32] *Venirent.*] This and *adessent* depend on *ne* above.—N. B. For [33] next reference, read [33].

[33] *Cui nec credere.*] "Whom it was neither safe to trust, nor,

P

by distrusting him, pronounce unworthy of confidence, lest he should prove a more deadly enemy." Crevier says that *fidem abrogare* means "to give up all confidence in one, to distrust him," and therefore thinks *non credendo* an unnecessary tautology. But Walker understands, more correctly, the phrase to mean "to pronounce unworthy of confidence, to destroy one's credit;" (see Cic. pro. Q. Rosc. n. 44, and 1. 4.—Acad. Quæs. n. 36,) and does not consider *non credendo* useless.—See also B. 1. c. 59. n. 82.

[34] *Sisti.*] See B. 2. c. 29. n. 52.

[35] *Emergentibus.*] This word is considered faulty. All the best writers of the Augustan age have avoided the use of *ac* before words beginning with a vowel. *Mergentibus* is the word proposed as its substitute. Drakenborch and Crevier imagine that *rempublicam* is the object of it; but Walker thinks this too far-fetched, as this, or a similar word, does not occur before or after; he considers *malum illud tribunicium* to be the object; thus "no one feared the tribunes or plebeians, so much did other evils rise above, and sink the consideration of these."—So B. 6. c. 14, *mergentibus sortem usuris.* I conceive Walker's explanation the more natural one, if *emergentibus* be certainly incorrect; if not, as I do not think it is, the passage may, in my opinion, be thus very simply explained: "so much did other evils abound and appear prominent."—See next ch. n. 41, for this use of *supero,* and *emergo* is often used in the same sense.

[36] *Ad id prope.*] "But that alone almost proved the greatest aggravation to their distress;" literally, "leaned with heavy weight on their sinking fortunes."

[37] *Patriciorum.*] "That the guests and dependants of the patricians, (whom the tribunes pretended to be the persons that seized on the citadel) if they find, after the law is carried, that they have raised a useless tumult, will go off, &c." They want the people to pass the law quickly, in order to put an end to the general tumult.

CHAP. XVII.—[38] *Templum.*] *i. e.* The *comitium.*—See B. 2. c. 56. n. 74.

[39] *Jupiter optimus.*] See B. 1. c. 55. n. 23.

[40] *Tantum hostium.*] "An immense force of the enemy." *Tantum* may be sometimes considered, as here, not in a relative sense, but merely in the signification of *multum* or *magna vis.*

[41] *Superat.*] "Abounds;" it is the same as *superest.* Livy often uses it in this sense.—See B. 5. c. 21.

[42] *Non quicquid patrum.*] "Ought not all the patricians and plebeians, the consuls, tribunes, &c." Gronovius thinks that, in place of *deos,* we should read *cives,* which would render the passage an elegant climax; for there was a great number of citizens who did not reside in the city.

[43] *Consularis imperii.*] "Regardless of the limits within which the consular power should be confined."

[44] *Princeps.*] This was his father, the famous Publicola, the colleague of Brutus.

CHAP. XVIII.—[45] *L. Mamilius.*] The Mamilian family was always very powerful at Tusculum. A daughter of Tarquinius Superbus (see B. 1. c. 49.) married Octavius Mamilius of that place.

[46] *Magno opere censet.*] "With great earnestness gives his opinion, that they should not wait."

[47] *Discrimenque.*] "And the crisis."

[48] *Sociales deos.*] These words mean those gods who were invoked to witness an alliance, and avenge any violation of it. So, the *dii hospitales* were the gods who witnessed and protected the bonds and rights of hospitality.

[49] *In forum descendunt.*] The forum was in a hollow.

[50] *Præsidia.*] "With those who were guarding the gates."

[51] *Si edoceri.*] "If they would allow themselves to be shown what secret danger was presented in the law, &c."—See B. 1. c. 47.

[52] *A majoribus.*] Rather from his father.—See last chapter.

[53] *Erigunt aciem.*] See B. 1. c. 27. n. 22.—B. 2. c. 31. n. 78.

[54] *Præterquam loco.*] *i. e.* As it was a very strong fortress.

[55] *Suæ fortunæ.*] "Punishment was inflicted on each according to his condition." Slaves were generally punished by crucifixion, and freemen by beheading.

[56] *Quadrantes.*] "Every man a farthing." *Quadrans* was the fourth of the Roman *as*. His father, Valerius Publicola, was also buried at the public expense, in consequence of his poverty. —See B. 2. c. 16.

CHAP. XIX.—[57] *Fidem exsolverent.*] "Redeem the pledge of Valerius."—See preceding chapter.

[58] *Fraude liberaret.*] "Acquit the sacred *Manes* of his colleague of a breach of faith;" *i. e.* by performing the promise which he made.

[59] *Tenuêre contentiones.*] See c. 47. n.

[60] *Perpetui jam tribuni.*] "From the inactivity of which order, these tribunes of the people, now become perpetual, exercised sovereign dominion by their language and impeachments, not as if in a republic of the Roman people, but in an ill-governed family." He calls them "perpetual," as the same tribunes were re-elected from year to year.

[61] *Iterum ac tertiùm.*] "Re-elected tribunes a second and a third time by the worst means."

[62] *C. Claudii pace.*] "I shall speak with all respect to C. Claudius and the departed Valerius."

[63] *Et vos priùs.*] He says it was a shame for the Romans not to have routed these intestine enemies of the state, the tribunes, out of the forum, before they marched against Herdonius.

[64] *Pudet.*] "I feel ashamed of gods and men;" *i. e.* that

gods and men should be witnesses of such infamous conduct. See Ter. Heaut. 2. 2. 8.

[65] *In cellâ Jovis.*] "In the chapel of Jupiter."—See B. 1. c. 55. n. 23. 26.

[66] *Et, qui ante.*] See B. 2. c. 30.

[67] *Familiâ armatâ.*] "A band of armed slaves." *Familia* (from *famulus*, "a slave,") properly signified the body of slaves that belonged to any individual; hence it came to be taken, in a more general sense, to signify all the "domestics" of a house, (so to speak,) including wife, children, &c. Sometimes it means a man's whole property.—See c. 55.

[68] *Sacri...sancti.*] *Sacer* is what is consecrated by religion; *sanctus*, what is protected, and pronounced inviolable by the law of the land. He thus reproaches the tribunes, because they wished to prevent the people from recovering the capitol.

[69] *Divinis.*] He alleges that the tribunes transgressed against gods and men by their dissuading the people from recovering the capitol.

[70] *Si tuleritis.*] "If you be permitted to propose it, much less carry it." *Perferre* means "to carry a law."

[71] *Nescio quo.*] "I know not from what fatality we find the gods more propitious to us when we are in war, than in a state of peace."

CHAP. XX.—[72] *In peragendis.*] "In executing those measures he claimed to himself a share of the consular duties." Though he did not agitate them at first, yet he was active in executing them afterwards.

[73] *Persequi quærendo.*] "Proceeded to ask." It is otherwise expressed by *exequi quærendo.*—See B. 6. c. 14.—B. 9. c. 3.—B. 2. c. 59. n. 98.

[74] *Exsolvere religione.*] "And wished to release the people from the religious obligation of their oath."

[75] *De proferendo exercitu.*] "Began to exert themselves to delay the marching of the army." This, it must be confessed, is rather a forced explanation of these words, though it is the only one they can bear, as it is evident, from the next chapter, that the tribunes did exert themselves for this purpose. There seems, according to the commentators, to be some error in the text. Gronovius thinks the words should be, *de perterrendo exercitu agere;* others, *de proferendâ* (scil. *re*) *agere;* or, *de proferendâ cum exercitu agere; i. e.* to exert themselves "to put off," or "defer" the thing, since they could not "prevent" it.

[76] *Fama exierat.*] "A report had gone abroad, that the augurs were ordered to attend at the Lake Regillus."

[77] *Rogatum.*] "That whatever was enacted by the influence of the tribunes at Rome, &c."

[78] *Non ita civitatem ægram esse.*] "That the distemper of the state was not of such an ordinary nature, that it could be checked, &c."

CHAP. XXI.—[79] *Moverunt.*] "Nor did they shake the consul from his purpose."

[80] *In reliquum.*] "For the time to come."

[81] *Fuêre in patrum potestate.*] "Submitted to the wish of the patricians." *Esse in potestate* is a phrase that often occurs to imply, "to submit to one's authority or wish." *Esse in auctoritate* signifies the same.

[82] *Reficiebant.*] "Were going to re-elect."

[83] *Actio.*] *Actio* and *agere* are particularly applied to harangues, or any public discussion before the people.

[84] *Elevatis.*] This verb properly means "to lessen the weight of any thing;" hence "to diminish in value and importance." *Levare* is sometimes used in the same sense.—See c. 72.

[85] *Ne temeritati.*] "Lest ye may yield to the populace in rashness."

[86] *Aliorum exemplo.*] Rather pursue the bad example of others, than teach them to pursue your good example. This is said in irony.

[87] *Dum...ne.*] "Provided I imitate not the tribunes."—See B. 33. c. 24.

[88] *Sed gloriam.*] "But that the glory of my refusing the honour of continuing in office has been thus augmented."

[89] *Communiter indè edicunt.*] "Then they issue their joint orders." As the consuls presided at the *comitia curiata,* they could take care that the decree of the senate was not violated in the election of consuls. But over the *comitia tributa,* where the tribunes were elected, they had no control, as they did not preside or attend there.

CHAP. XXII.—[90] *Tertiùm.*] Vibulanus only was created consul a third time.

[91] *Religiosum fuit.*] "There were some religious scruples about closing the lustrum, &c."—See B. 2. c. 5.

[92] *Præverti.*] Scil. *lege,* "the war to be first attended to."

[93] *Duæque partes.*] "Two-thirds of the army consisted of the allies; one-third, of Roman citizens.

[94] *Jussit.*] Scil. *socios.* Similar ellipses often occur in Livy. See B. 34. c. 39.—B. 42. c. 24.

[95] *Et socii.*] "That Romans and allies together."

[96] *Suæ cuique parti.*] He posts the proper cavalry of each division behind the first line." Gronovius thinks we should read *sua,* and refer it to *principia;* or *suos,* or *suæ quemque,* or *suæ quosque,* and refer the words to *equites.* But these alterations are unnecessary, as there are many instances of the present style in the best authors. See B. 25. c. 17.—Virg. Ecl. 7. 54.—Cæs. Bell. Civ. 1. c. 83.—Suet. in Aug. c. 40. *Post principia;* see B. 2. c. 65. He posts the Roman cavalry behind the Roman infantry, the Latin cavalry behind the Latin infantry, &c.

CHAP. XXIII.—[97] *Ut distenderent.*] "To divide." *Distinere* is used in the same sense.

[98] *Citatum agmen . . . rapit.*] "Hurries on his army by forced marches."—See B. 23. c. 36. This is otherwise expressed by *citato agmine ducere, iter ingredi,* &c.

[99] *Et quod cocti.*] "And whatever boiled food they had ready at hand."

[1] *Vi nunquam.*] "They could never get into it by force."

[2] *Quò postquam.*] "To which condition when the thing came at last."

[3] *Relicto.*] This word is considered wrong; it should be *reducto.*

[4] *Periculum esse.*] "When the Roman walls ceased to be in danger." The syntax is *desierat periculum esse mœnibus Romanis.* As Ter. Heauton. 5, 2, 27, *ut periculum etiam à fame mihi sit.*

[5] *Certamine.*] "Emulation;" *i. e.* to see who would injure the enemy most.

CHAP. XXIV.—[6] *Frustrationem eam.*] "That that deception was intended to prevent the enactment of the law." *Esse alicujus rei faciendæ* is a phrase that signifies "to contribute to do that thing."—See c. 31. and 39.

[7] *P. Lucretius.*] It is very probable *P.* (*Publius*) should be *L.*, i. e. *Lucius Lucretius,* who was consul three years before this: for all the prefects of the city, up to this time, were consular men. This conjecture is supported by one MS., which has *P. L. Lucretius.*

[8] *Emanabat.*] "It became known." Livy often uses *emano* in this sense.

[9] *Affirmantibus qui unà.*] "Those, who had served with him in the army, affirming that he regularly attended at his post along with them, without having obtained any leave of absence."

[10] *Judices.*] As the prætors could not attend the trial of every cause, they had always a list of persons properly qualified, called *judices selecti,* out of whose number, as occasion required, they delegated judges to aid them (hence called *assessores* or *concilium*) or to act in their stead. These select judges, who were men of knowledge, judgment, and integrity, were chosen in an assembly of the tribes; and the prætor, according to the importance or difficulty of the case in dispute, appointed one or more of them to try it. This office was at first confined to the senators; but was afterwards transferred to the knights by a law of C. Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the people, A. U. C. 630. L. Aurelius Cotta, a prætor, extended the power to the senatorian and equestrian orders, and the *tribuni ærarii;* Sylla confined it to the senators; Pompey extended it to the richest of every century; J. Cæsar confirmed the law of Pompey, but excluded the *tribuni ærarii.* The number varied, by virtue of different laws at different times, from 300 to 600. The usual

method of proceeding was this: the plaintiff either named the judge (which was termed *ferre judicem,*) who was to try the cause; or he left the nomination to the defendant, which was styled *ut judicem diceret;* and when they had agreed on a judge, *quum judex convenisset,* they presented a joint petition to the prætor, that he would appoint that person, *ut judicem daret,* to try the cause: and at the same time they bound themselves to pay a certain sum of money,—the plaintiff, if he should not establish his charge, *ni ita esset;* the defendant, if the plaintiff should succeed in establishing his charge, *si ita esset.*

[11] *Teste Volscio.*] "Than that of Kæso had been on the evidence of Volscius."

[12] *In comitiorum disceptationem.*] "To a striving about the election."

[13] *Infesta.*] "Harassed by dissensions."—See c. 68. n.—B. 2. c. 11. n. 98. Hence the word "infest." *Infestus* is not often used in this sense.

CHAP. XXV.—[14] *Duas residuas.*] "Found on their hands the two causes that remained undecided from the last year," *i. e.* the law of Volero and the trial of Volscius. *Excipio* often means, as here, "to receive a thing from one's predecessor, to succeed to a thing;" sometimes it is neuter, and means "to follow."—See B. 2. c. 61.

[15] *Valerii filio.*] These words should be *M.*, or *Manii filio,* for he is thus designated in the *fasti Capitolini.* The designation of a person was taken from the father's *prænomen,* not from his family name. Sometimes it was taken from the father's *cognomen,* if it was by that he was best known. This M. Valerius was consul two years after this, and his father, M. Valerius, was dictator in the year 260.

[16] *Maximus.*] "That greatest of the young Romans." *i. e.* Kæso. By this it would appear that he died in exile; but Cicero, in his oration *pro suâ domo,* states that he was restored.

[17] *Pio bello.*] A war dictated by duty, as well to his country as to his family. *Pietas* is that duty which a creature owes to his Creator, a subject to his sovereign or the state, one member of a family to the rest, &c.

[18] *Et tribuni.*] "And the 'other' tribunes." The word *alius* is often understood in similar phrases.—So B. 2. c. 44, *unum vel adversùs omnes satìs esse.*—B. 35. c. 34. and 37, *Quinctius legatique.*

[19] *Edocuissent.*] This is the pledge that Valerius the consul had given.—See c. 18.

[20] *In Lavicanum agrum.*] *Lanuvinum agrum* was the reading of most MSS., which is incorrect.

[21] *Se alia.*] That he would attend to some other business besides that of listening to them.

[22] *Exsequemur.*] "We shall avenge."

[23] *Provinciam dedit.*] "Gave to the other, as his province, the ravaging of the territories of the Æqui."

CHAP. XXVI.—[24] *Comparati.*] "The Roman territories, when compared to that, seemed almost untouched by the war."

[25] *Vis animi eadem.*] Minucius had not the same energy of mind as his colleague had.

[26] *Circumdant.*] "Draw a line of circumvallation round it," in order to block it up.—So c. 28, *circumdari opera.* There are many similar instances of this form of expression.

[27] *Vallo objecto.*] "By presenting a barrier against them."

[27*] *Pertulêre*] Subin. *nuncium.*

[28] *Quanta.*] Scil. *foret.*

[29] *Operæ pretium.*] "The elevation of this man is worth the attention of those who, &c."

[30] *Affluant opes.*] "Unless where wealth abounds to profusion." *Affluere opibus* is a phrase applied to a person abounding in riches.

[31] *Trans Tiberim.*] See ch. 13, at the end.

[32] *Seu quum araret.*] "Or while he was in the act of ploughing." The reader will observe the change of construction. *Seu* couples *fodiens* to *quum araret,* which is the same here as *arans.* It will also be observed, that a conjunction does not always couple like cases, moods, and tenses, as the grammarians say.

[33] *Togatus.*] "Dressing himself in his toga." He was stripped at his work; he only wore his *tunica.*

[34] *Egressi.*] "Having come out of the city to meet him."

[35] *Domum.*] "He was conducted to his former residence in the city."

[6] *Sed ea nequaquam.*] "But they did not by any means behold Quinctius with the same satisfaction as the patricians did; for they imagined both that he possessed too great a stretch of power, and was himself too violent a man, to be vested with that very power." It is thought that the preposition *in* should be expunged, in which case the sense would be, "that the man himself was more violent than the great power with which he was armed."

CHAP. XXVII.—[37] *Stipendia pedibus.*] "Though he had served as a foot soldier." *Stipendium* (from *stips,* which comes from *as* and *pendo,* since their brass money was formerly weighed) is properly a soldier's pay; and, as every soldier was paid from the year 350, when the siege of Veii was commenced, (see B. 4. c. 59,) the word came generally to signify "a campaign," and was used by late writers in that sense, when speaking of events that occurred before that time.

[38] *Vallis.*] These were stakes to form palisadoes or ramparts outside the camp; the more prongs or branches they had, the fitter they were for the purpose. The word is the diminutive of

varrus ; some were stuck in the ground, and others woven across them, and generally secured behind with earth, stones, &c.

[39] *Apti.*] This word agrees with *dictator* and *magister equitum ; apto* was the common reading.

[40] *Ducit.*] This should be *ducunt,* according to the ordinary rules of grammar. But a verb, which has many subjects, often agrees in number with the last, whether the former be of the same or a different number.—See c. 50. n.

[41] *Maturato opus esse.*] "That there was need of speed."—So *consulto opus, maturè facto opus,* Sall. Catal. ch. 1.—See B. 1. c. 58. n. 64.—*Perveniri possent. Perveniri posset* is another reading.

[42] *Momenta verti.*] "That the decision of the greatest events often turned on a second of time."

[43] *Clamabant.*] "The soldiers too called out to one another, 'hasten, standard-bearer; soldier, follow.'"

CHAP. XXVIII.—[44] *Quantùm nocte . . . contemplatusque.*] "And having examined, as well as it was possible that a view could be taken at night, what was the situation of the camp."

[45] *Valloque.*] "And their bundle of stakes."

[46] *Circumdat.*] "Draws his whole army round the enemy's camp."

[47] *Jacere vallum.*] "To plant or pitch his stake."

[48] *Superat.*] "Then it passes across."

[49] *Alibi pavorem.*] "In one quarter terror, (*i. e.* among the enemy,) in another, great joy," namely, among the Romans.

[50] *Civilem clamorem.*] "The shout of their fellow citizens."

[51] *Ultro.*] "Unexpectedly."—See B. 1. c. 5. n. 75. These now in turn became the assailants.

[52] *Differendum.*] "Says, that the attack should not be delayed."

[53] *Legionibus.*] The consul's troops.

[54] *In discrimine.*] "That the business was put to the trial." *i. e.* that the action was begun.—See ch. 35. n.—So also B. 1. c. 55, *in ipso discrimine pugnæ.*"

[55] *Circumdari.*] "To prevent the dictator's line of circumvallation from being drawn round them."

[56] *Ad pugnantes introrsum.*] "Having turned their attention to the consul's troops, who assailed them inside, they left the night without interruption to the dictator's work."

[57] *Vallum.*] "The rampart of the Æqui."

[58] *Illa . . . prior.*] "The former attack," made by the consul.

[59] *Infensus.*] *i. e.* Dictator.

[60] *Oppido Corbione decedi.*] "To quit the town of Corbio;" *decedi* (scil. *ab illis*) *ex oppido. Decedi* is an impersonal passive. Livy is fond of such peculiarities of expression.

CHAP. XXIX.—[61] *Prædæ fuisti.*] "You almost became a prey."

[62] *Consularem animum.*] "A spirit worthy of a consul;" for this disgrace of the army proceeded from his timidity.—See ch. 26.

[63] *Libram pondo.*] "A pound in weight." *Pondo* is the ablative of the obsolete word *pondus;* the phrase is elliptical, which is thus explained: *coronam habentem pondus libram pondo. Pondo* is often used without *libra,* as, *decem pondo auri,* scil. *decem libræ pondo auri.*

[64] *Quo veniebat agmine.*] "In the same line of march with which he came;" for it was usual for the general to wait outside the city, until the senate decreed that he should enter in triumph.

[65] *Epulantesque.*] "And, partaking of the feast, while they sung the triumphal hymn, (see Hor. B. 4. Od. 2.) and threw out the customary jests, they followed the chariot after the manner of revellers;" they used to amuse themselves sometimes with the general, sometimes with the captives, or with one another. See B. 4. c, 53. See Milton, Par. Lost, B. 6. 882, &c.—Sueton. Cæs. 49. and 51.

[66] *L. Mamilio.*] See ch. 18.

[67] *Ad vastatos agros.*] "This calamity too fell on the Sabines in addition to the devastation of their territories."—This devastation is recorded in ch. 26, at the beginning. For instances of the sense in which *ad* is here taken see Juvenal, Sat. 10. 130.—B. 3. c. 62, beginning.—B. 23. c. 38.

[68] *Prodigium.*] It was an extraordinary thing to see the wild carnivorous beasts of the forest come into the very heart of the city.

CHAP. XXX.—[69] *Faciebat.*] See ch. 27. n. 40.—c. 50. n.

[70] *Ni, velut deditâ operâ.*] "Had it not been announced, as if intentionally, that, by a nocturnal attack of the Æqui, the garrison at Corbio was cut off."

[71] *Vincebaturque.*] "The consular authority was on the point of being defeated by the tribunician aid." Mark the propriety of the epithets; the consular power was called *imperium,* which properly meant "military command," as the consuls, and military tribunes with consular power, had the command of the army; that of the tribunes, *auxilii latio,* or *auxilium,* (see B. 2. c. 33. 56.) as they were intended to be merely the supporters or protectors of the commons against the aristocracy.

[72] *Decem deinde tribuni.*] This measure weakened the influence of the tribunes, because then the senate could more easily find out of ten than out of five, one to lend himself to them in recording his *veto,* the word used to express his disapprobation of the measures of his colleagues, which single *veto* would be enough to render them abortive.

[73] *Eosdem tribunos.*] These words according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, should mean, "the very tribunes who were then in power." And Livy soon after says that the tribunes, appointed this year, were re-elected in the next, with-

out saying that it violated a decree of the senate, as he did, chap. 21.

[74] *Juberent.*] This was the word used to signify the decrees of the people. *Rogo* was the expression applied to the presiding magistrate, who put the question to the people.

[75] *Tricesimo sexto anno.*] This should be the end of the 36th year, if we take into account the consuls omitted by Livy, B. 2. c. 39; but if not, this would be the beginning of the 35th year.

[76] *Singulis classibus.*] Each of the five first classes; the sixth was not taken into account,

[77] *Itaque.*] "And so."—See B. 1. c. 4. 32.

[78] *Propter proditum præsidium.*] It appears that the inhabitants assisted the enemy in cutting off the Roman garrison there.

CHAP. XXXI.—[79] *Annonâ propter aquarum.*] "The people were distressed for provisions, on account of extraordinary falls of rain," which, of course, injured the crops.

[80] *De Aventino publicando.*] "About giving up the Aventine as public property to the people to build on." Though Ancus, (see B. 1. c. 33,) allowed the people to build here, yet the greatest part of it at this time was overgrown with wood, according to Dion. Halic., who also mentions, B. 10, a violent contest this year about the Agrarian law, in which Siccius Dentatus signalized himself.

[81] *Legem . . . celebrabant.*] "Were recommending the Terentillian law."—See also B. 1. c. 4. n. 71.—B. 2. c. 42. n. 10.—B. 5. c. 11.

[82] *In suâ sede.*] "In their old position," the position which they had often before occupied.

[83] *Invidiæ tamen.*] "Yet the proceeding brought odium on them with the army."

[84] *Itaque ergo.*] "And so then."—See B. 1. c. 25. n. 80.—Livy, as the reader will see, often uses synonymous words of this kind.

[85] *Quæque æquandæ libertatis essent.*] "And what would tend to establish liberty on a principle of equality."

[86] *Daturum leges.*] "Should have the propounding of those laws."

[87] *Missi legati.*] This happened in the 13th year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, when Greece was in its most flourishing state.

CHAP. XXXII.—[88] *Lugubres.*] "Were in mourning."

[89] *Eo intentiùs.*] The tribunes were the more anxious to have the laws transcribed, as the proposition of compiling such a body emanated from themselves.

[90] *Lex Icilia.*] See last chapter.

[91] *Sacratæ leges.*] See B. 2. c. 33. n. 6. However, the law about the tribunes, which was a *lex sacrata*, was annulled, as there were no tribunes this year.

CHAP. XXXIII.—[92] *Trecentesimo altero.*] "In the three hundred and first year after Rome had been built." It was the three hundred and third year, or the end of the three hundred and second year, according to Dodwell.

[93] *Luxuriavêre.*] "Degenerated into licentious extravagance."

[94] *Repetitumque.*] "And the practice was revived."

[95] *Graves quoque ætate.*] "They say that there were also elected by the last votes, (*i. e.* to fill up the last places,) men advanced in years, that they might be less violent in their opposition to the decisions of the others." In the preceding sentences, Livy gave reasons for the election of six of the decemvirs; in this, he says, four others "also" were elected for the reason which he mentions.

[96] *Auræ popularis captator.*] "That all at once he became a courter of the plebeians, and one that caught at every breath of popular favour;" a metaphor borrowed from one at sea in a calm, catching at every favourable breath of wind to swell his sail. The metaphor is used extensively, as *aura libertatis,* ch. 37; *aura spei,* B. 42. ch. 39, &c. *Aura,* by itself, has sometimes the same meaning; see B. 6. ch. 11.

[97] *Decimo die.*] "They administered justice individually every tenth day;" *i. e.* each of them one day in ten, according as it came to his turn.

[98] *Penès præfectum juris.*] "Attended him who in his turn presided over the administration of justice."

[99] *Collegis novem.*] "Single beadles attended his nine colleagues;" *i. e.* each was attended by one. These beadles, or bailiffs, were called *apparitores, accensi, lictores, viatores, anteambulones.*

[1] *Et in unicâ concordiâ.*] "And notwithstanding the singular unanimity that existed among themselves, (a harmony that sometimes proves injurious to private individuals,) they behaved with the greatest equity to all others." Livy shows that, in the next year, this unanimity among their successors was prejudicial to the people. *Inutilis,* and such expressions that signify the absence of good, are often used by the Latin authors, and not unfrequently English too, in imitation of the Greeks, to express positive evil.—See B. 5. c. 6.

[2] *Defosso cadavere.*] "A dead body being found buried in the house of P. Sestius." This was not the decemvir. *Sextium* is the more general reading; but it appears that, at this time, this was a plebeian name; so that we must read *Sestium.*

[3] *Cujus rei.*] This may be translated either "appeared before the people as the prosecutor of an act of which he was the lawful judge;" or "the prosecutor of a criminal, of whom he was the lawful judge;" so that *rei* may be the genitive of *res* or *reus.*

CHAP. XXXIV.—[4] *Quum promptum hoc jus.*] "While the highest and the lowest were obtaining from them this prompt

administration of justice, pure as if from an oracle; at the same time their exertions were used in framing the laws." *Promptum,* "ready drawn" as it were for the use of all.

[5] *Atque in medium.*] "And bring to public discussion whatever may be superfluous or defective in each article."

[6] *Quas consensus omnium.*] "Which the general consent might appear not more to have ratified when proposed, than to have itself proposed;" consequently, these laws would be more acceptable to them, if they appeared in some measure to have emanated from themselves.

[7] *Ad rumores.*] "According to the reports of the people respecting each head of the laws, as it was published." *Editos,* agreeing with *rumores,* would appear a better reading.

[8] *Cedentibus invicem.*] "Because the decemvirs in turn allowed an appeal, every one from his own decision to the other decemvirs."

Chap. XXXV.—[9] *In trinum nundinum.*] "For the third market day following." On every ninth day (*nono die*) there was a public market in Rome, to which the country people and citizens resorted to buy and sell, and see what laws, or other public matters were proposed. Between every two market days there intervened seven working days. *Trinundinum* was the space of time, within which there were three market days, and this was the space of seventeen days; for, if the first market day fell on the first of the month, the second would fall on the ninth, and the third on the seventeenth; because in counting the nine days, the market days themselves were to be counted inclusively. Notice, or proclamation (*edictum*), of every law or other public matter, which was to be brought under the consideration of the people, was posted up, or otherwise publicly given, for three market days, that the people might be the better prepared for it. Formerly these market days were reckoned among the *feriæ;* consequently no public assembly could be held on them; but by the Hortensian law they were reckoned among the *dies fasti,* or days appointed for law business.

[10] *Impugnatum.*] The patricians at first opposed the establishment of the decemvirate.

[11] *Demissa jam in discrimen.*] Appius was stimulated, when he beheld men so advanced in age, and who had held such high offices, "thus lowering their dignity to the hazard of a contest" for this honour.—See ch. 28. n. 54. This is the explanation given of the passage by the commentators, but I think it may be more simply rendered thus: "his dignity at his time of life, after he had enjoyed such high honours, being now reduced to jeopardy, excited Appius." Appius feared that in the great competition among the patricians for the office, he would be rejected, and thus was his dignity in danger of being humbled. His being called the youngest of his colleagues is no objection

to this interpretation; for, though he was, yet he must at this time have been at least forty-six years old, as he was consul elect two years before this.

[12] *Propior . . . petendo.*] "Sometimes he bore a nearer resemblance to one petitioning for, than holding the office."

[13] *Criminari optimates.*] "He attacked the characters of the patrician candidates."

[14] *Gratuitam.*] "Disinterested."

[15] *Nimium in ordinem.*] "That his reducing himself too much to the common rank, and descending to a vulgar familiarity with private individuals, was characteristic, not so much of a man in a hurry to quit office, as, &c." Appius was raised by his office above the ordinary level of men, but by his conduct he was sinking himself to it. *Cogere in ordinem* is a phrase particularly used to mean "to deprive an officer of his command, and reduce him to the ranks.'

[16] *Pro occasione.*] "As an opportunity for effecting his purpose."

[17] *Per coitionem.*] "By means of a coalition formed with the other candidates."

[18] *Creat.*] "Procures the election of;" *i. e.* by his stratagem. So *ferre legem* is sometimes applied to the person through whose means a law is enacted.

[19] *Haud secus factum.*] "An act, which good men disapproved of as much, as every one had believed he would never dare commit."

[20] *M'.*] Manius. Dionysius says that Pætelius, Duilius, and Oppius, were plebeians.

CHAP. XXXVI.—[21] *Impotentibus . . . consiliis.*] "Schemes of tyranny."

[22] *Coquebant.*] *Coquo* and *concoquo* often are taken metaphorically to mean "to plot, concoct, digest a scheme."

[23] *Rari aditûs.*] These words are in the gen. singular.

[24] *Servâssent.*] "Had observed the old rule," sc. *morem.* Within the city the lictors went before only one of the consuls, B. 2. c. 1, and that commonly for a month alternately. An *accensus* went before the other, and the lictors followed. Dionysius says it was Valer. Publicola passed this law.

[25] *Nec attinuisse.*] "The interpretation they gave the old law was, that there was no use in taking the axes out of the rods, &c." By Valerius's law, B. 2. c. 7, the axes were not to be carried before the magistrates within the city.—See B. 2. c. 41. n. 97.

[26] *Memorem.*] "That showed a remembrance of."—See B. 1. c. 28.—B. 3. c. 69.—B. 4. c. 48.

[27] *Intercessionem.*] "An interference with each other's decrees." This word here has the same force as *appellatione* at the end of ch. 34; it properly meant opposition or interruption

given by the tribunes to the decrees of the senate. *Appellatio* was an appeal from an inferior to a superior magistrate; or from one magistrate or court to another. *Provocatio*, properly, an appeal to the people.

[28] *Libidinosè . . . consulebatur.*] "They behaved capriciously."

[29] *Hominum, non causarum.*] "They were altogether influenced by the rank of the parties concerned, and not the nature of the case."

[30] *Judicia . . . conflabant.*] "Made up their decisions." This verb properly means "to cast metals;" hence it came metaphorically to mean, "to forge, to make up."

[31] *Sine auctore.*] Without its being known from what authority it emanated.

[32] *Obtinerent.*] "Keep a lasting hold of." This verb is often used in this sense.

CHAP. XXXVII.—[33] *Unde.*] "From whom;" *i. e.* from the patricians. The people were the cause of the appointment of the decemvirs.

[34] *Haud indignis.*] "That these things happened to them deservedly."

[35] *Elapsos.*] Walker says that the meaning of this word is, that, from the anxiety of the people to rid themselves of the power of the patricians, the "escape" they made was into slavery. *Lapsos* is the reading of Crevier and others.

[36] *Expectabant.*] "They were expecting how soon," or "that soon, &c."

[37] *Agitabat.*] "Were considering." This word has often this meaning.

[38] *Libertati.*] The dative, as here, has often the same signification as the genitive.

[39] *Ferre, agere.*] "Carried and drove off." These words, like φέρειν and ἄγειν, are often used together, and denote the action of plundering. *Ferre* means "to carry off inanimate things;" *agere*, "to lead or drive away animals."

[40] *Quum fortuna.*] It is thought that there is some error here in the text. Drakenborch would propose this reading: *quum fortuna, quâ, quicquid cupitum, fieret, potentioris esset; i. e.* "when Fortune, through whose means whatever was desired was obtained, attended the more powerful." *Fieret* and *foret*, it is true, are often confounded in MSS. Gronovius proposes the following correction: *plebem plebisque res, et fortunas; quum quicquid cupitum foret, potentioris esset.*

[41] *Virgis cædi.*] i. e. *Alii virgis cædi.* There are very many instances of this Ellipsis.—See c. 61. n.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—[42] *Idus Maiæ.*] This was the day at that time, when the magistrates quitted office; afterwards, it was the first of January.

[43] *Neque animis.*] "Still retaining the disposition, to exer-

eise' their power, and the ensigns to show it." Livy often uses the verb *inhibere* in this sense.—See ch. 50, 59.—B. 4. c. 56, 53.

[44] *Imperiumque . . . indignabantur.*] "And they (*i. e.* the neighbouring states) thought it a shame that sovereign power, &c." Though *que* here couples the verbs *cæpti erant* and *indignabantur,* yet there is a peculiarity in the structure of the sentence, of which there are other instances; the two verbs have different subjects.—See B. 2. ch. 49. n.—c. 56. n. 60. and c. 58. n. 87.—B. 4. c. 17; and Virg. Æn. 6. 283; *quam sedem somnia vulgò . . . vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent,* i. e. *somnia hærent.* Vossius and Perizonius think the reading should be *imperium qui ibi esse, &c.*

[45] *Quòd solitum quidquam.*] "That any of the usual practices of a free state were resorted to."

[46] *Circumspectare.*] "Looked about for."

[47] *Quum et ipsi invisum.*] "When the decemvirs themselves judged from this solitude that their power was detested by the unanimous consent of the people, and the commons judged that the senators did not assemble for this reason, because the decemvirs, now reduced to the rank of private individuals, had not authority to convene them." This is the way in which this clause is generally explained. But it may be also, I think, explained very naturally thus: "when they themselves judged that the senators did not assemble, because their power was universally detested, and the commons judged that they did not assemble, because, &c. The insertion of *ob* before *invisum* would remove every difficulty.

[48] *Jam caput fieri.*] "That a head was now formed for those who sought to recover their liberty." This head was the refusal of the senate to attend.

[49] *Suarumque rerum.*] "Attended solely to their private affairs."

[50] *A cœtu.*] *Amovere se à cœtu,* is applied to one who goes off to a distance from a society or meeting, whether he was or was not before connected with it; but *amovere se è cœtu,* is applied to one who quits an assembly, of which he was once a member; as, *amovere se è medio,* is "to retire from a society in which a person has once moved;" *abstrahere navim è portu,* "to bring a ship out of the port in which she lay;" therefore, as the senators did not entirely relinquish their rank or office, *è cœtu,* which is the reading of Gronovius and others, is incorrect.

[51] *Ad pignora.*] If a senator did not attend, he was punished with a fine, unless he had a just excuse, and a pledge was taken until it was paid; if not paid, the pledge was sold.

[52] *Edicunt.*] "Issue an edict for." So *edicere delectum,* c. 10. *Comitia indicta,* ch. 35.

[53] *Privatisque.*] "And who were mere private citizens, except so far as force prevailed."

CHAP. XXXIX.—[54] *Obnoxiè.*] With timid submission to the decemvirs.

[55] *Relationem.*] *Referre* is the word used to signify, "to lay before another, or an assembly, the subject of debate." In the senate, or assemblies of the people, it was done by the presiding magistrate.

[56] *De republicâ.*] "Concerning the state of the commonwealth." This was out of order, as the senate was convened to consider about war.

[57] *Horatiis.*] Dionysius says that it was Horatius induced the army to revolt from Tarquin at Ardea; and that Porsena in his consulship was obliged to raise the siege.

[58] *Nec nominis.*] "It was not the mere 'name' of king men were then disgusted with."

[59] *Sacris.*] See B. 2. c. 2. n. 14.

[60] *In rege tum eodem.*] "In that same king, or in the king's son;" *i. e.* in Tarquin or in his son Sextus. Crevier thinks the reading should be *in rege tum eodem et filio regis; i. e.* in a man who was both king and the son of a king together. Walker thinks *eodem* is opposed to *tot* in the following sense: As the people at that time would not allow a king, who was one and the same individual, to commit so many enormities, it is not to be supposed they will tamely endure them now from so many, and these, private persons.

[61] *Quanto ferocior dolor.*] "How much more forcible would resentment prove to the people in preserving their liberty, than ambition would to the decemvirs in preserving their unjust dominion." *Ferox* often signifies merely "violent, vigorous, strong;" so does *improbus;* as, *improbus amor, improbus labor, improbus lapis.*—Virg. Sometimes it signifies a savage joy.—See B. 1. c. 58.

[62] *Graviora, quæ patiantur.*] He means that the people felt more sensibly the weight of their present oppression, than their apprehension of the danger of attempting to shake it off.

CHAP. XL.—[63] *Nec iræ nec ignoscendi.*] "When the decemvirs could not discover the proper measure for their resentment or forgiveness, (*i. e.* how far they ought to carry either,) or judge how the business would end."

[64] *Precibus, quàm.*] i. e. *Precibus magìs quàm;* the ellipsis of *magìs* in Latin, as of μᾶλλον in Greek, is very common.

[65] *Claudium interpellandi.*] "They felt a reverential disinclination to interrupt Claudius."

[66] *Sententiam igitur peregit.*] "Therefore he went through with his resolution, that it was their opinion that no decree of the senate was to be passed;" that, as the senate was not convened by proper authority, they could pass no resolution.

[67] *Coire.*] "To meet." Livy uses this word in this particular sense elsewhere.—B. 4. c. 7, *patricii coire et interregem creavêre.*

—ch. 43, *modò tribunis prohibentibus tribunos coire ad interregem prodeundum.*

[68] *Censendo enim.*] "For by expressing such an opinion, the author of it judged that there were some magistrates who could hold the senate;" whereas, the motion of Claudius went to show the contrary.

[69] *Quonam fato incidisset.*] "Saying that he wondered by what fatality it happened, that those who had been themselves canvassing for the decemvirate, or their accomplices, or these, (*i. e.* Horatius and Valerius,) particularly of their accomplices, should now attack the decemvirs." This is the way in which the passage is generally explained: some think, that *aut socii aut hi maximè,* means, "either as accomplices, or as these persons who were most active." Crevier thinks we should read, *aut soli, aut hi maximè,* and thus explains the words, *aut soli, aut præ ceteris omnes.* I think the present reading may be more rationally explained thus: That the decemvirs should be attacked by men, who had been themselves candidates for the office, or who had been their former associates, or above all, by these, *i. e.* Valerius, Horatius, and others, who were most hostile to them. *Socii* may mean either the former associates and friends of the present decemvirs, or the associates and friends of men who had once been decemvirs; if *hi* alludes to Horatius and Valerius, the reason why he alludes to these seems to be, that as the decemvirate was first established for the purpose of giving additional security to the liberties of the people, he thought it surprising that that power should be assailed principally by those, who pretended to be the great champions of those liberties. If the text be incorrect, and that any emendation be introduced, I think the most simple and rational one would be, the changing of the second *aut* into *ut,* and making *hi maximè* an emphatic repetition of the two former classes of persons, *i. e. qui decemviratum petîssent,* and *socii;* Livy often uses such repetitions.—See c. 64. n.

[70] *Vacuâ civitate.*] "While the state was at ease;" *i. e.* free from foreign alarm.

[71] *Quid agatur.*] "Their mischievous conduct."

[72] *Cæterum neminem . . . verum esse, præjudicium ...... afferre.*] "That it was not fair that any one should prejudge so important a matter."—See B. 2. c. 48. n. 78.—B. 5. c. 11.

[73] *Se parare Ap. Claudium.*] *Parare* is coupled to *agi,* and depends on *placere* in the beginning of the sentence.

[74] *Præverti.*] "Should be done first."—See c. 22. n. 92.—B. 2. c. 24. n. 15. This verb, as well as *ducere* and *haberi,* depends on *censere* in the preceding sentence.

CHAP. XLI—[75] *In hanc sententiam.*] "The younger patricians succeeded in having this resolution passed on a division." *Discedere* was the word used to express coming to a division on any

subject. When the senate were about to come to a decision, the presiding magistrate said, *qui hoc censetis, illuc transite ; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem ;* hence *ire,* or *ire pedibus in sententiam alicujus,* means, to vote with that man's proposition, and *discedere* v. *transire in alia omnia,* (Plin. Ep. 8. 14,) to oppose it. Those, who voted thus without speaking, were called *pedarii.* Crevier says, that, though all decrees of the senate were thus passed, *per discessionem,* yet the phrase *senatûsconsultum per discessionem factum,* was peculiarly applied to those decrees that were passed on important or indisputable points, unanimously, or by a great majority at once, without much debating, or hearing the individual opinions of all.

[76] *Non erit melius.*] "It will be better for you not to utter a word except about the business under debate." This is used as a threat. *Melius* is often used in this sense; see ch. 48, *quiêsse erit melius.* Ter. Adelph. 2. 1. 26—οὐκ ἄμεινον is used in the same sense in Greek.

[77] *Privato reticere.*] "Declaring that he would not be silent for a man destitute of lawful authority."

[78] *Non cui simulabat.*] "By taking care, not of the person whom he pretended anxiety for." He seized Appius by the body, under the pretence of preventing him from assailing Valerius, but really with a view of saving him from the fury of Valerius.

[79] *Ultra vocem excessisset.*] "Had not gone beyond that of speaking." So Valer. Max. *excedere ultra fidem, supra rationem.*

[80] *Residuo.*] This means "inveterate," "lurking," or "continuing to remain behind in their breasts."

[81] *Postmodo.*] "At some future time."

[82] *Ducta.*] "Protracted or spun out."—So B. 4. c. 53. *Quum res diu ducta per altercationem esset*—Virg. *Nostros in longum ducis amores.* The verb is often taken in this sense *trahere* also is frequently so used.

[83] *Legionibus scriptis.*] When a levy of troops was about to be held, the consuls, or other presiding magistrate, ordered such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a heavy penalty. They were careful to choose (*legere*) those first, who had what were thought lucky names, whence we have the term *legio.* The names were written down on tablets, hence *scribere,* "to enlist or levy."

[84] *In Fabio minùs in bono constans.*] "Rather inconstant in doing good than strenuous in doing evil." *Minùs* is often used for *magìs non.* He was not determined and wicked enough to quell the turbulence of an exasperated city mob.

[85] *Hunc enim.*] *Enim* expresses the reason of *minùs constans.*

[86] *Similis.*] When this word governs a genitive, it expresses a very near resemblance; it means, "the very same as, the like

of," as Shakspeare, Hamlet, "we ne'er shall look upon his like again."

[87] *Æquo omnium decemvirorum imperio.*] The commontators say that these words mean, "that Oppius and Claudius were to have the same authority as if all the decemvirs were present." Then there must be an unclassical ellipsis, and the passage be completed thus: *Æquo omnium decemvirorum imperio eorum imperio existente*, "their power being equal to the power of all the decemvirs." It appears much more simple and natural to explain the passage thus: "The power of all the decemvirs being the same;" *i. e.* that the decemvirs, both those who went to the army, and those who remained in Rome, should every one of them alike possess absolute authority; and in this case Oppius and Claudius would have as much power as if all the decemvirs were in the city.

Chap. XLII.—[88] *Auspicio.*] When the Roman general was about to engage in any important undertaking, he ascertained the will of heaven by making observations on certain birds, which was peculiarly termed *auspicium*, (qu. *avis et aspicio;*) hence, such an undertaking was said to be carried on under his "auspices," whether he was present or not; sometimes the omens were taken in his name by his deputy, and the affair was still said to be conducted under his auspices, as was the case in the time of the Roman emperors, under whose auspices the generals were said to carry on war in the distant provinces.

[89] *Persecutis hostibus.*] "Engaging no where in even combat with the enemy who pursued them." *Persecutis hostibus* is the dative case.—See B. 5. c. 18, *nec se tamen æquo loco hosti commisit.*

[90] *Utensilibus.*] This word signifies "any implement or vessel for use;" it also sometimes means "provisions and money."—See Tacit. B. 1. 70, note, (Oberlin's ed.)—2. 60.—15. 39.

[91] *Ad supplementum.*] Gronovius thinks the reading should be *ac supplementum.* Drakenborch explains the present reading thus: "In addition to a reinforcement of troops to supply the places of the slain;" *ad* certainly sometimes means "in addition to, besides."—See c. 29. n. 67. and next ch. beginning. It may however be simply explained thus: "they decreed to send to Tusculum arms for the purpose of a supply; *i. e.* to supply those that ware lost at *Algidus;* for in the words *utensilibus exutus*, a little before, may be included the loss of their arms; *supplementum* means a supply of any thing, though the usual signification of it is a "supply of men," and *ad* often means "for, for the sake of." *Tusculum arma—decernerent*, scil. *mittere.* So Cic. *decerne legiones in Syriam;* or, as *arma* is often taken in a general sense to signify "all kinds of tools for all arts and occupations," it may here include not only arms offensive and defen-

sive, but the furniture, and vessels, and tools for working, necessary in the camp, all of which they had lost.

[92] *Ultro inferendo.*] See ch. 28. n. 51.

CHAP. XLIII.—[93] *L. Siccium in Sabinis.*] "They send L. Siccius quartered among the Sabines, to make observations for the purpose of choosing a situation for a camp; who, availing himself of the odium against the decemvirs, was making mention, in his secret conversations to the common soldiers, of secession and the election of tribunes." *In Sabinis*, i. e. he was in the army that acted against the Sabines. Dionysius, B. 10, says, that he was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles; had received forty-five wounds, all in front; had obtained four civic crowns, three mural crowns, eighty-three necklaces, sixty bracelets, eighteen spears, and twenty-five trappings, as rewards of his valour.—See c. 58. n. 49.

[94] *Pari viribus animo.*] "Possessing courage equal to his strength."

[95] *Præcipitatum in insidias esse.*] Scil. *ab iis*, "that they had fallen into an ambush." As *præcipitare* is often used in Livy (see B. 2. c. 51.—B. 5. c. 18,) in an absolute or neuter signification, *præcipitatum esse* here is taken impersonally.

[96] *Placebat, ni decemviri.*] "And it was resolved that Siccius should be carried immediately to Rome, (which would have been put into execution,) had not the decemvirs, &c." The reader will see several instances of such an ellipsis where *ni* occurs. The verb in the clause antecedent to *ni*, should be repeated and put in the same mood and tense with the verb that depends on *ni*. In Livy the imperfect indic. is often used before *ni* in the same sense as if it had been the pluper. subjunctive.

CHAP. XLIV.—[97] *Honestum ordinem.*] "Led a first rank." In each *manipulus* there were two centurions distinguished by the titles *prior* and *posterior*, because one was chosen and ranked before the other. These centurions, called *ordinum ductores*, were chosen from the common soldiers, according to their merit, by the tribunes of the soldiers, sometimes by the consul or proconsul. The centurion of the first century of the first *manipulus* of the *triarii* or *pilarii*, was called *primipilus;* see B. 2. c. 27. n. 32; the centurion of the second century of the first *manipulus* of the *triarii*, was called *primipilus posterior*. The centurions of the second *manipulus* of the *triarii*, were called *prior centurio et posterior centurio secundi pili;* and so on to the tenth, who were called *prior centurio* and *posterior centurio decimi pili*. In like manner the centurions of the two other lines, which were called *principes* and *hastati*, were styled *primus princeps, secundus princeps*, &c.; *primus hastatus, secundus hastatus*, &c. Any of the chief centurions was said, *honestum ordinem ducere*.—See B. 2. c. 45. n. 49.

[98] *Liberique.*] Crevier says that this word was often used with

some latitude, to signify "an only child," whether male or female, and is here applied to Virginia.

[99] *In servitutem assereret.*] "To demand the girl as a slave, and not submit to those who may claim an action in favour of liberty." *Asserere in servitutem, asserere in libertatem,* (see next ch.) were phrases used to signify "to claim one as a slave, to claim one as free." *Vindiciæ* was a suit entered into by a person who claimed the possession of any thing either for himself or another; a sort of action of rescue. *Vindicias decernere,* or *dare secundùm* or *in libertatem,* "to rule the claim in favour of liberty," *secundùm* or *in servitutem,* "to rule in favour of slavery," were phrases by which was meant, that the subject of the action should remain "free" or "in slavery," until the question was finally decided.—*Vindicias dare* or *decernere,* was applied to the judge who made such a decision. *Vindicias postulare,* was applied to the plaintiff called *assertor,* who demanded such a decision. *Vindicias dicere ab libertate,* was the same as *vindicias in servitutem dare.* Crevier says that *vindiciæ* sometimes means the temporary possession of a thing pending the action.

[1] *In tabernis literarum ludi erant.*] "For the schools of literature were held there in sheds."

[2] *Celebratur.*] See c. 31. n. 81.

[3] *Notos gratia eorum.*] "Their affection for them conciliates the favour of their acquaintances for the girl; and the heinousness of the circumstance conciliates the favour of the multitude for her."

[4] *Auctoribus, qui aderant.*] "Her supporters recommending her to follow him."—See B. 3. c. 14. n. 19.—Hor. Sat. B. 9. 1, *paulùm hìc ades.*

[5] *Suppositam ei esse.*] "Became his supposititious child;" *suppositam* here is the same as *supposititiam,* such children were called by the Greeks ὑποβολιμαῖοι.

[6] *Apud quem major pars injuriæ.*] "Who would be the principal sufferer."

[7] *Advocati.*] *Advocatus* (says Ascon. in divin.) *est qui aut jus suggerit, aut præsentiam suam in judicio commodat amico.*

[8] *De liberis dimicare.*] "Run the hazard of losing his children." This verb properly means "to combat;" hence it comes often to signify "to encounter danger, to run a risk;" here it is the same as *periculum adire* below. See a similar use of it, B. 2. c. 12. n. 13.—B. 1. c. 15, *inclusi de tectis mœnibusque dimicarent.*—See also c. 48. n. 45.

[9] *Lege ab ipso latâ.*] "That, according to a law framed by himself, he should rule the case in favour of liberty." It seems that Appius on some previous occasion had framed this law.

CHAP. XLV.—[10] *Appius decreto præaftus.*] "Appius prefaced lay his decree by observing, that the verw, which the friends of

Virginius hold forth as a plea for their demand, shows clearly how favourable he himself was to liberty. But that liberty would find firm security in it in this way only, if it did not vary in causes or persons:" *i. e.* to continue undeviating and invariable in the tenor of its operation to those causes and persons only to which it was intended to be applied. Appius says that the friends of Virginius were wresting the law to cases and persons to which it was inapplicable. "For in the case of those who (being in slavery) were claimed as free, that right (which was above demanded by Virginia's advocates) did exist, because any citizen could by law bring such an action; but in the case of her who was in her father's hands, there was no other person to whom her master should yield the custody of her;" consequently she could not, pending the suit, be set at liberty. A slave could not bring an action at law against his master to recover his freedom; some free citizen should do it for him, and any citizen might do it. Appius says, that, if Virginia was living in a state of slavery under Claudius, as any one might institute an action to establish her liberty, she would be entitled to her liberty until the affair was decided; but as she was now living under her father's protection, and he was absent, and as no other person had a right to defend or keep her, she should be given up to the man who claimed to be her master, until the father's arrival.

[11] *Maximè interventu.*] The crowd made way for Icilius, because they imagined that his interference was the chief thing that could resist Appius.

[12] *Placidum quoque.*] "Even a calm temper."

[13] *Tacitum feras.*] See B. 1. c. 50.

[14] *Auxilium.*] See c. 30. n. 71. 72.

[15] *Sævite in tergum.*] "Flog and behead us."

[16] *Referes.*] Walker says this word has here the same force as it has in the phrases, *referre spolia, referre victoriam,* &c.

[17] *Vindiciis cesserit.*] "If he shall submit to this man's claim to detain her in custody."

[18] *Conditionem.*] "Another match for his daughter." This word sometimes signifies a treaty and union of marriage; sometimes it is used for a bride or bridegroom.—Ter. Phor. 4. 1. 13. —Cic. Phil. 2. c. 38.

[19] *Vindicantem sponsam in libertatem.*] *Vindicare in libertatem,* is a phrase used to signify "the maintaining or defending of liberty." So Sallust. Jug., Memmius's speech, *nisi vosmet in libertatem vindicatis.* Cic. Fam. 10. 31, *rempublicam in libertatem vindicare;* the phrase is similar to *asserere in libertatem.* —See ch. 44.

CHAP. XLVI.—[20] *Tribunatum.*] Breathing the turbulent spirit of a tribune, even at a time when the office was abolished.

[21] *Seditionis.*] The same as *seditioni;* the genitive and dative are often used for each other in Latin.

[22] *Vindicari.*] "To be kept at liberty;" *i. e.* allow the *vindiciæ secundùm libertatem*, which was claimed by her friends.

[23] *Neque legi suæ.*] "That, as its framer, he would maintain his own law, (*i. e.* by insisting that it should be carried into effect, as he expounded it in the last chapter,) and, as a decemvir, his own firmness."

[24] *Nec se collegarum.*] He alludes to the words of Icilius.

[25] *Rectâ.*] Scil. *viâ.* This is often understood with *eâdem, quâ, illâ, aliâ,* &c. So the ellipsis of ὁδὸς is common in Greek, as ᾗ, scil. ᾗ ὁδῷ—*ἄλλῃ, scil. ἄλλῃ ὁδῷ,* &c.

[26] *Vindex injuriæ.*] The person who was to avenge her wrongs, her defender from injury, *i. e.* her father.

[27] *Vindicaret.*] "When the claimant of the girl urged him to profess himself her defender, and give bail for her appearance." Let the reader observe the different shades of the same meaning that *vindex* and its derivatives have in these chapters.

[28] *Præciperent iter.*] "Should previously finish their journey." See B. 22. c. 41.—32. c. 16—36. c. 19.

[29] *Sedisse.*] *Sedere* and *considere* are often used to signify a judge's sitting on the bench to try cases.

[30] *Commeatu.*] "Leave of absence."—See B. 1. c. 57.—B. 3. c. 24.

CHAP. XLVII.—[31] *Expectatione erecta.*] On the tiptoe of expectation, as we say.

[32] *Sordidatus.*] This was for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the people. The Romans, and other nations, had constantly recourse to this practice, whenever it was necessary to gain this object. The phrase "mourning in sackcloth and ashes," and its meaning, are familiar to every one.

[33] *Ingenti advocatione.*] "A great crowd of supporters."

[34] *Precariam opem.*] "Voluntary assistance;" assistance granted from a feeling of compassion to his prayers; from *preces.*

[35] *Strenuè ac ferociter facta.*] "Whose bold and vigorous achievements in war were more numerous."—See c. 39. n. 61.

[36] *Quid prodesse.*] "What did this avail, if, while the city was secure from danger, their children were to endure those calamities, which were the worst that could be feared, if it were taken."

[37] *Concionabundus.*] "As if delivering a public harangue." See B. 5. c. 29.

[38] *Ultrò.*] See B. 1. c. 5.

[39] *Per ambitionem.*] "From a wish to gain popularity." *Ambitio* properly meant the act of going about canvassing for votes, previous to an election; hence it came to mean, an attempt or wish to gain favour or power in any way.

[40] *Tradiderint.*] Gronovius says this means, "could have handed down to us;" *i. e.* if they pleased; for if they really did hand it down, Livy would see and record it. Walker says that it

means "have handed it down to us;" and that, though they did really hand it down, it perished by time. He says he complains elsewhere of the loss of records.—See B. 8. c. 40.

[41] *Nudum videtur proponendum.*] "I think it best to represent the naked fact, which is evident, namely, that he decreed, &c." See c. 44. n. 99. *Nudum* may mean "unaccompanied with any preamble or 'charge,'" as our phrase is.

[42] *Defixit.*] This word is applied to persons rendered motionless and bewildered by surprise, fear, grief, or any other strong emotion of the mind.—See B. 1. c. 29.—8. c. 7.

[43] *Tenuit.*] "Lasted." Livy often uses the word in this sense. See B. 23. c. 44, *imber per totam noctem tenuit.* So B. 1. c. 4, *tenet fama.*—B. 2. c. 19, *hæ tenuêre contentiones usque ad comitia.* So in English "to hold" often signifies "to last."

Chap. XLVIII.—[44] *Alienatus ad libidinem animo.*] "Being estranged in mind (from all other considerations) to lust." So *alienatus sensibus,* B. 25, c. 29. *Alienato—animo,* is another reading.

[45] *Dimicationis.*] "Danger."—See c. 44. n. 8. Cic. pro Sullâ. 77. pro Rab. 5.

[46] *Descendisse.*] *i. e.* To the forum, which was in a valley between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills. *Descendere in forum,* was the phrase generally used to express "to go to the forum."

[47] *Quiêsse erit melius.*] See c. 41. n. 76.—B. 44. c. 36.

[48] *Æquiore animo.*] "With a more tranquil mind."

[49] *Prope Cloacinæ ad tabernas.*] "Near the temple of Cloacina to the Sheds, which are at present called the New Sheds." *Cloacinæ,* intell. *ædem;* there are many instances of this ellipsis. —See B. 2. c. 7. n. 71.—B. 1. c. 33. n. 2. This was an epithet of Venus, derived, according to Pliny, (B. 15. c. 29,) from the old verb *clueo,* or κλύζω, "to purify," because the Romans and Sabines, when they became reconciled, were purified by myrtle, which was sacred to Venus; and, in the place where the ceremony was performed, a temple was built to Venus Cloacina. Lactantius says the word comes from *cloaca* "a sewer," because an image of Venus was found in the great sewer. Cicero de Orat. B. 2. c. 66, called these *novæ tabernæ* simply *novæ.*—See more about Cloacina in Plin. B. 25. c. 29; and Lactantius de falsâ Relig. B. 1. c. 20.

[50] *Consecro.*] "Devote to the infernal gods." *Sacro* is the verb generally used to express this.—See B. 2. c. 8. *Sacer* was often applied to a person accursed. Such a person may be slain with impunity, and his goods were devoted to the gods, *i. e.* set apart to defray the expense of sacrifices to the gods.

[51] *Cæteraque, quæ in tali re.*] "And other reflections, which, on such an occasion, the grief of women suggests to them in their mourning, the more pitiful in proportion as that grief is more pregnant with affliction in a tender mind.

[52] *Virorum et maximè Icilii.*] "The whole conversation of the men, and particularly Icilius, turned on their being deprived of the power of the tribunes, and the appeal to the people, and on the indignities offered to all."

CHAP. XLIX.—[53] *Retractantem.*] This word sometimes, as here, means "obstinately and constantly to draw back from any thing;" hence, "to refuse, to disobey;" see c. 52. *Detractantem* is another reading. *Vocari* and *arripi* depend upon *jubet* at the end of the sentence.

[54] *Si jure ageret vindicare.*] "If he intended to proceed in a legal way, that they would become security for Icilius against Appius, who was a mere private citizen." The legitimate power of Appius had expired, see c. 38; he is therefore called *privatus.*

[55] *Pro imperio.*] "By virtue of his own authority."—See B. 1. c. 51.—B. 2. c. 56.—B. 4. c. 26. n. Crevier explains these words by *aperto jussu.*

[56] *Agitatus consiliis.*] "Distracted by the several schemes that were suggested to him, and confused by listening to many advisers on every side."

CHAP. L.—[57] *Monte Vecilio.*] This was a part of Mount Algidus.

[58] *Conspectus est.*] "Was a conspicuous object." The verb *conspici* often means, in Livy, "to be conspicuous, to be gazed at."—See B. 1. c. 47.—B. 4. c. 13.—B. 5. c. 23.

[59] *Convertit.*] For *convertunt.* When a verb has several subjects, it is sometimes put in the singular, agreeing in number with the nearest. This peculiarity was borrowed from the Greeks, and has been often used by the early English poets. Thus Hom Il. 1. 61, εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς 'Αχαιούς. Shakspeare, "reproach and beggary is crept into the palace of our king." Sometimes the verb is found to agree in number with the remoter subject, as Shakspeare, Midsummer-Night's Dream.

"But *all the story* of the night told o'er
And *all their minds* transfigured so together,
More *witnesseth* than fancy's images,
And *grows* to something of great constancy."

[60] *Togæ.*] The citizen's dress differed from that of the military, which was called *paludamentum.*

[61] *Majoris.*] "More numerous." *Major* is sometimes used in this sense, as Hor. Od. B. 3. 1, *turba clientium major.*

[62] *Vocem misit.*] *Emittere vocem* is the more usual phrase; however, Livy often uses *mittere vocem;* see c. 36, 41, 56, &c.

[63] *Pudicæ vivere.*] *i. e. Si licitum fuisset filiæ vivere liberæ ac pudicæ.* Let the reader remember, that verbs neuter generally require the same case after them as they have before them.

[64] *Morte amitti meliùs ratum.*] "That, having imagined it better that his children should be lost by death than dishonour, he had fallen, through compassion, into what wore the appearance of cruelty." Perhaps it would be better to make two sentences of this by a period at *liberos,* and making *ratum* a verb.

[65] *Mortem occubuisse.*] *Occumbere, occumbere mortem, occumbere morti,* and *occumbere morte,* are phrases indifferently used by the best Latin authors to signify "to die."

[66] *Profligatam.*] "Far advanced;" *i. e.* that the power of the decemvirs was nearly destroyed at Rome. *Profligare* sometimes means "to advance a thing far; to bring it nearly to an end;" as B. 21. c. 40, *commissum ac profligatum bellum conficere.*—Cic. Tusc. 5. 6, *Profligata jam hæc et penè ad exitum deducta est quæstio.* Flor. *primo commissum bellum, secundo profligatum, tertio verò confectum est.*

[67] *Insecutique.*] "And others having arrived there after them, who said, &c." This word and *immixti* above, which refer to two classes of persons, are the subjects to *perpulerunt. Quum—simul* here signify the same as *quum—tum. Insecutos,* which is wrong, is the reading of some copies.

[68] *Vellerentque signa.*] "To cry out, one and all, to arms, and pluck up their standards." When a general, after having consulted the auspices, determined to lead forth his troops to battle, a red flag *(vexillum)* was displayed on a spear from the top of the general's tent, *prætorium;* then having called them to assembly by sound of trumpet *(classico,* i. e. *tubâ concione advocatâ)* he harangued the soldiers, who answered by shouts of joy, or by beating on the shields with their spears. To this Milton finely alludes B. 1. l. 669.

> "He spoke: and, to confirm his words, out flew
> Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
> Of mighty cherubim; the sudden blaze
> Far round illumin'd hell; highly they rag'd
> Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms
> Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
> Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven."

After the harangue all the trumpets sounded *(signa canebant),* which was the signal for marching. At the same time the soldiers cried out "to arms" *(ad arma conclamatum est),* and the standards, which during the encampment stood fixed in the ground, were plucked up *(signa convellebantur). Signum* was the standard of the infantry, each *manipulus* having one; *vexillum* was that of the cavalry.

[69] *Inhiberet.*] See c. 38. n. 43.

[70] *Senatûs verbis.*] "In the name of the senate."—See B. 6. c. 17.—B. 7. c. 31.—B. 9. c. 36. So Cic. and Att. 16, 11, *meis verbis suavium des.*

[71] *Nullodum.*] "There being no certain leader as yet." *Nul-*

lodum, for *nondum ullo.*—See B. 7. c. 33.—B. 29. c. 11. So *nec omnes dum*, for *nec dum omnes*, c. 60.

Chap. LI.—[72] *Paullo ante trepidatum esse.*] "That, in a case, not of the greatest difficulty, they were embarrassed a short time before;" *i. e.* when the deputies of the senate spoke to them. *Trepidare* is generally used to signify that trepidation and turbulence of feeling which is experienced on the eve of a battle.—See B. 2. c. 46, 49.

[73] *Proximi invidiæ.*] "Most obnoxious to the animosity of the patricians." *Invidia* is very often used in a passive sense, to signify that hatred and hostility felt and exercised against one by another.—See c. 54.

[74] *Non minore motu.*] They were no less exasperated and provoked to secession by the recollection of the murder of Dentatus, than by the attack on Virginia.

[75] *Prærogativam.*] "Lest the *comitia* in the city might follow the precedent of the assembly that elected the military tribunes, by creating those same persons tribunes of the people." When the centuries were called on to vote, they originally came according to the institution of Servius Tullius, first the *equites,* then the centuries of the first class, then the centuries of the second, &c.; afterwards, however, the order (but when is uncertain) was determined by lot. The century first called on by lot was called *prærogativa;* the rest were styled *jure vocatæ.* The vote of the *prærogativa* was considered of great importance, and it was often followed by the other centuries; hence the word often means "a precedent," "a choice," or "favour," "a pledge or omen of any thing future;" and among later writers, "an exclusive privilege." Sometimes the tribes are mentioned in the *omitia centuriata;* and then it is supposed that, after the centuries were included in the tribes, (see B. 1. c. 43. n.) the tribes cast lots first, and that tribe, which first came out, was called *prærogativa tribus,* and the others, *jure vocatæ tribus;* then the centuries of the *prærogativa tribus* cast lots, to ascertain which should be the *prærogativa centuria.* After the *prærogativa centuria* of the *prærogativa tribus* voted, then the other centuries voted according to their property: first the centuries of the first class, then of the second, &c., as they did when there was no mention made of tribes. The *jure vocatæ tribus* were those tribes whose centuries voted, not by lot, but in their just and regular order (hence *jure vocatæ*) according to their rank and property.—See B. 5. 18.—B. 21. 3.—B. 27. 6.—B. 28. 9.—Cic. Phil. 2.

[76] *Imminensque ei potestati.*] "And aiming at that office." See B. 4. c. 25.

[77] *Dedecora militiæ.*] "The disgraces incurred in war."

[78] *In ordinem cogi.*] See c. 35. n. 15.

Chap. LII.—[79] *Admoniturum.*] "That the consecrated mount

would remind them of the perseverance of the people."— See B. 2. c. 32.

[80] *Scituros.*] "That they would then know that, without the restoration of the tribunician office, matters could not be restored to concord." Many interpreters think *scituros que*, or *quàm*, would be better, as the propriety of such expressions as *scire quòd, dicere quòd, respondere quòd,* and the like, is questionable. *Potestas* is often applied to the office of the tribunes of the people, and *imperium* always to that of the consuls, or other chief magistrates.

[81] *Viâ Nomentanâ . . . Ficulensi.*] This road was so called, because it led to the towns Nomentum and Ficulea; after the destruction of Ficulea, it was called *Nomentana.*

[82] *Retractante.*] See c. 49. n. 53.

[83] *Ruere ac deflagrare.*] "To sink into ruin, and be consumed to ashes." Metaphorical expressions borrowed from the destruction caused by fire.

[84] *Togatorum aliorumque.*] Crevier says, that *que* here, introduced first into the text by Sigonius, (whose readings are often incorrect,) and adopted by succeeding editors, injures the meaning of this passage.

[85] *Ne nunc.*] "So that now, when captivated by its sweetness, they cannot bear its loss, especially when we do not, in the exercise of our power, behave with such moderation, as that they may not stand in need of the assistance of the tribunes." Crevier says, that *ne* here is the same as *nedum.*

[86] *In potestate.*] See c. 21. n. 81.

[87] *Ut ipsis ab invidiâ caveatur.*] "That they may be guarded against the animosity of the people."—See c. 51. n. 73.—c. 55. *Cavere,* followed by an accusative, or an ablative with the prep. *a* or *ab,* generally means, "to guard against," "to have security from;" followed by a dative, "to guard," "to insure security or protection to."

CHAP. LIII.—[88] *Ea postulavit.*] "Made such demands, as that it appeared, ——." *Is* is often used for *talis.*

[89] *Ne cui fraudi esset.*] "And that it should be injurious to no one to have stirred up the soldiers."—See B. 1. c. 47.

[90] *Quæ consilii.*] "Those demands which were the result of cool deliberation."

[91] *Satìs superque humilis est.*] "That man is sufficiently, quite sufficiently, humbled, who lives with equal privileges as his fellow-citizens in the state, without offering injury, or suffering it." They say that the decemvirs, even though they may not be punished, are abundantly humbled by having lost the power of doing injury. Walker says, that *satìs superque* mean sometimes what is fully sufficient, not what is too much. As Hor. Epod. 1. *satìs superque me tua benignitas ditavit.*—See c. 67. Crevier thinks there is some mistake in the sentence.

CHAP. LIV.—[92] *Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis.*] "All the soldiers allowing them to do as they pleased." *Facerent*, scil. *ut facerent*. *Permittere* is sometimes followed by an infinitive mood, sometimes, and more properly, by a subjunctive with *ut*.

[93] *Haud ignaro imminet fortuna.*] This is as much as to say, "I am aware of the doom that hangs over me, and I am prepared to meet it."

[94] *Nihil ne ego quidem moror.*] The two negatives here add to the force of the negation. See B. 4. c. 38. This is common in Greek, and has been introduced, though sparingly, into Latin. Shakspeare, Spencer, and Milton, and the early English poets, who adopted all the idioms of the ancient languages, have sometimes used this peculiarity; as, Jul. Cæsar, Act 3. Sc. 1.

> "There is no harm intended to your person,
> Nor to no Roman else."

Macbeth, Act 2.

> "Nor tongue nor heart cannot conceive, nor
> Name thee."

[95] *Pontifex maximus . . . crearet.*] He was the only magistrate at this time in Rome.—See c. 1. n. 5. See c. 53. n.

[96] *Abdicantque se magistratu.*] *Abdicare se magistratu, dictaturâ, ædilitate*, &c. are phrases used to signify "to deprive one's self of all right," (from *ab* and *δίκη, jus*,) "to resign all claim to these offices," *abrogare alicui magistratum*, (see B. 1. c. 59.) "to deprive another of office." *Abire magistratu*, simply "to quit office."

[97] *Legatos.*] The deputies from the senate to the camp.

[98] *Pro concione.*] "At the assembly," *i. e.* at the camp; *pro* here has the same force as in the phrases, *pro tribunali, pro suggesto.*

[99] *Convellunt indè signa.*] These words are used to signify "to decamp."—See c. 50. n. 68. *Convertunt signa* is another reading, which is incorrect, as these words mean either "to turn back," or "wheel about on a march," or "to change the charge to another direction in battle."—See B. 8. c. 11.—B. 10. c. 18.

[1] *A. Virginium.*] These words should very probably be L. Virginium, *i. e.* Virginia's father.

[2] *M. Duilium.*] See B. 2. c. 61.

[3] *Spè.*] "More from the hope that was entertained of their future services than from any past merit of theirs."

CHAP. LV.—[4] *Quorum consulatus.*] "Whose consulship, as being agreeable to the people, though without doing any injury to the patricians, was not without giving them offence; because they believed that whatever security was given to the liberty of the people, was a diminution of their own power."—See c. 52. n.

[5] *In controverso jure.*] "A disputed point of law."

[6] *Plebiscitis.*] See B. 2. c. 56. n. 63.

[7] *Consularem legem.*] This was passed by Publicola, B. 2. c. 8.

[8] *Novam legem.*] *Novâ lege* is another reading, and implies the same thing; instances of both forms of expression often occur.

[9] *Sine provocatione.*] The force of this law was afterwards questioned. The dictator, B. 8. c. 33, refused to allow an appeal.

[10] *Renovârunt.*] "They also revived the privilege for the tribunes to be considered inviolable."—See B. 2. c. 33.

[11] *Ædilibus.*] *i. e.* The plebeian ædiles. Who the *judices* and *decemviri*, mentioned here, were, the commentators are at a loss to determine; it is certain they must be some plebeian officers. There were certain officers called *decemviri litibus judicandis*, who were ten men appointed to assemble the several councils into which the *judices selecti*, called also *centumviri*, (because three persons were chosen from each of the thirty-five tribes,) were divided, and preside in them in the absence of the prætor. But it seems that these were created after this time. There were also *decemviri agris dividendis*.

[12] *Familia.*] See c. 19. n. 67.

[13] *Liber liberæque.*] *Liber*, mentioned here, is said to be the son of Ceres, and Libera her daughter, *i. e.* Proserpine. They are mentioned elsewhere.—See B. 33. c. 25.—B. 41. c. 24.—Tacit. An. 2. c. 29.—Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 2.

[14] *Sacrum sanciri.*] "Is by law deemed accursed."

[15] *Cautum esse.*] See c. 52. n. 87.

[16] *Consulares.*] "Proposed by the consuls" at the *com. centuriata*.

[17] *Ad ædiles plebis deferrentur.*] "Should be deposited in the temple of Ceres, under the care of the ædiles of the people."

[18] *Vitiabanturque.*] "And were corrupted" or altered.

[19] *Qui reliquisset.*] *i. e.* Whoever would "cause" the commons to be left without tribunes, and would "cause" a magistrate to be created.

[20] *Invitis.*] "The patricians, though unwilling they should be passed, yet not opposing them." *Invitis* does not imply that they were carried "in spite of them." Cic. *Sapiens nil facit invitus, nil dolens, nil coactus.*

CHAP. LVI.—[21] *In forum descendisset.*] See c. 48. n. 46.

[22] *Oratio.*] "A long harangue is only used in cases of a doubtful nature."

[23] *Gratiam facio.*] "I grant you pardon for all the impious and nefarious deeds that for two years you have been daring to commit in constant succession." So Sall. Jug. c. 104. *Boccho delicti gratiam facit.*—See B. 8. c. 34.

[24] *Unius tantùm criminis.*] This may depend on *causâ* or

nomine understood. See a similar ellipsis, B. 1. c. 32.—B. 3. c. 62.—B. 4. c. 30.—B. 8. c. 6, or, by removing the comma, it may depend on *judicem*.

[25] *Ni judicem dices.*] See c. 24. n. 10.

[26] *Nullo morante.*] "None of the tribunes regarding his call on them." *Moror* when joined to a negative, often signifies "to value or regard."

[27] *Vindiciæ ab libertate dictæ.*] See ch. 44. n. 99.

[28] *Consulatu abîsset.*] He was consul elect, and resigned his office.—See c. 33.

[29] *Sua propria bona malaque.*] "That he would try all the peculiar advantages or disadvantages of his own case." These he opposes to the general rights of a free citizen, which he now stands on; he says, he should not be thrown into prison before his trial came on.

[30] *Quos oderint.*] *i. e.* The decemvirs.

[31] *Quòd si tribuni.*] "But if the tribunes acknowledge that they have been bound by the same kind of confederacy as the decemvirs, for the purpose of abolishing the privilege of appeal, against which they charged the decemvirs with having conspired." See c. 36. Crevier says, the reading should be *in quod*, scil. *fœdus*, not *in quam*, as *eodem* requires a relative.

[32] *Ait.*] Gronovius says this should be *at*, as B. 1. c. 41. *Si tua consilia re subitâ torpent, at tu mea sequere.*—B. 3. c. 31, *si plebeiæ leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores et ex plebe et ex patribus—sinerent creari.*

[33] *Appellatio provocatioque.*] See c. 36. n. 27.

Chap. LVII.—[34] *Legum expertem, et civilis et humani fœderis.*] "Cut off from the protection of the laws, or any covenant entered into with citizens or men." So Hom. Il. 9. l. 63.

"Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος."

[35] *Stupro interpellato.*] "By the interruption given to his lust."

[36] *Judicem illi ferre, ni vindicias.*] See c. 24. n. 10.—c. 44. n. 99.

[37] *Prodixit.*] See c. 61. n. 8.

[38] *Sed, emeritis etiam stipendiis.*] Every citizen from the age of 17 to 46, during which time he was called *junior*, or *juvenis*, (see B. 1. c. 43, 56,) was obliged to enlist whenever the public service required it; every foot soldier was obliged to serve twenty campaigns, every horseman ten. When a soldier had served his time (*stipendia meruisset*,) he was called *emeritus*, and obtained his discharge, which was called *missio honesta* or *justa*; sometimes soldiers were discharged through favour, and this was called *missio gratiosa*; sometimes in consequence of some infirmity, and this was called *missio causaria*; sometimes from

some misconduct, which was termed *missio ignominiosa*. Another kind of discharge was introduced under Augustus, called *exauctoratio*, by which those, who had served sixteen campaigns, were exempted from all military duty, except fighting. These were kept still in the army in a separate body, (*sub vexillo seorsim*,) hence they were called *vexillarii*, or *veterani*, or *subsignani*, till they received a full discharge and reward for their services either in land or money. The sentence may be thus translated: "not only the young men, but even a great number of persons, who volunteered their services after having served their regular time, attended, &c."

[39] *Egrederentur*.] See B. 2. c. 37.

CHAP. LVIII.—[40] *Antiquam in patriam*.] See B. 2. c. 16.

[41] *Gentilibus*.] "His clansmen." The Romans were divided into various clans (*gentes*), each clan into several families. Thus the *gens Cornelia* was divided into the families of the *Scipiones*, *Cinnæ*, *Syllæ*, *Lentuli*, *Dolobellæ*, *Cethegi*, &c.

[42] *Honoratissimæ imaginis*.] "A man whose image would be held in the highest honour by posterity."

[43] *Nomini dare*.] "That he also did it in compliment to his own family and name."—So Cic. Att. 1. 9, *dabimus hoc Pompeio*.

[44] *Pietate*.] This, as has been already shown, often means that duty and affectionate regard and support which one member of a family owes to the rest.

[45] *Sed necessariorum*.] "But the prayers of those, who were the dear friends of Virginia, and were three tribunes." Crevier thinks *et* should be expunged.

[46] *Spe incisâ*.] "When all hope was cut off;" *spe præcisâ* is another way in which the same sentiment is often expressed.

[47] *Arreptus*.] See B. 2. c. 54. n. 35.

[48] *Plus tamen facta injuria Oppio*.] "However, a positive injury, committed by Oppius, excited more hostility against him than the fact of his not preventing the injury done by Appius."

[49] *Extra ordinem donatus*.] "Rewarded in an extraordinary way." Sometimes whole companies were rewarded together for their valour, sometimes individuals were singled out for peculiar distinction on account of superior merit; a reward conferred in this way is termed γέρας in Homer. The highest reward was the *corona civica*, made of oak leaves, given to him who saved the life of "a citizen," and presented personally by the party that was saved; he wore it at the games, and sat at them next the senate. To the person who first mounted the "rampart," or entered the enemy's "camp," was given by the general a golden crown, called *corona vallaris* or *castrensis*. To him who first scaled the "walls" of a city in an assault, *corona muralis*; to him who first boarded the "ship" of an enemy, *corona navalis*. There were smaller rewards, such as a spear "without any iron on it," *hasta pura*; a flag or banner on the end of a spear, *vexillum*, i. e. *quasi parvum*

velum; trappings *(phaleræ)*, which were ornaments for men and horses, and which hung down the breast; twisted necklaces, *torques*, from *torqueo;* bracelets for the arms, *armillæ*, from *armus;* chains made of little rings, *catellæ*, qu. *catenullæ;* clasps or buckles *(fibulæ,* from *fibra, extremitas,)* because used to keep the edges or borders together.

[50] *Privatus.*] "Though now reduced to a private individual."

[51] *Solum verterunt.*] See c. 13. n. 11.

[52] *Ultimam pœnam.*] "The punishment of death." So *ultimum discrimen*, B. 28. c. 39. Plin. Ep. 2. 11, *ultima pœna.* Lucan. 8. 395, *mors ultima pœna est.*

CHAP. LIX.—[53] *Metus incesserat.*] This verb comes from *incesso*, "to seize." Livy often uses this word; as, *metus incessit, cura incessit, dolor incessit, indignatio incessit, admiratio incessit,* and the like.

[54] *Inhibito salubriter modo.*] "Having exercised a salutary restraint over their excessive power."—See c. 38. n. 43. Crevier and Gronovius say, that the word should be *potestati*, not *potestatis.*—See B. 4. 53, 56.

[55] *Quod vim tribuniciam desideret.*] "Which would require the interposition of the tribunician power."

[56] *Consulum invidiam.*] "The animosity against the consuls."

[57] *Molliùs consultum.*] "That they acted with too much imbecility."—So B. 30. c. 7.

[58] *Neque erat dubium.*] "And there was no doubt but that they yielded to the exigency of the times."

CHAP. LX.—[59] *Sustinuit.*] "Delayed," withheld it from coming to the decision of a battle. The word is used in this sense, c. 65, *sustinendo rem.*—B. 5. c. 54, *rem in noctem sustinuêre.*

[60] *Haud scio an.*] "I do not know but (such was the feeling both of the Romans and the enemy from the misfortunes that attended the command of the decemvirs.—see c. 42,) that a battle would cost him a heavy loss."—See B. 2. c. 36. n. 53.—Crevier says that *non* is understood after *an.*—See B. 2. c. 2.

[61] *Concessum propemodum de victoriâ.*] "That the victory was almost yielded up to them."

[62] *Nocti cessêre.*] So Hom. νυκτὶ εἴξωμεν; *nocte* was the common reading.

[63] *Ulteriores.*] "Those who proceeded to a greater distance."

[64] *Multa dies.*] The same as *multùm diei*, which is the more usual phrase.

[65] *Adortusque.*] "And having attacked them before they were all as yet led forth, or before those, who were, had their lines properly drawn out."—See c. 50. n.

CHAP. LXI.—[66] *Inclinet.*] "Should turn." So B. 2. c. 20, *inclinavit acies.*

[67] *Nolle ominari.*] "That he was unwilling to forbode what neither Jupiter nor Mars their father would permit to happen to

a city built under such good auspices." The ancients had a superstitious belief, that it was unlucky to forbode or talk of any calamity. *Malè ominatis parcite verbis,* was a phrase constantly used by them. This was expressed by εὐφημεῖν by the Greeks.

[68] *Illibatum.*] "They ought to carry back dominion unimpaired to that very place."—So B. 42. c. 30, *illibatis viribus,* Colum. *illibatum robur.*

[69] *Permittuntque.*] See B. 2. c. 56. n. 61.

[70] *Elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti.*] "And after the ranks were broken, 'some' dashing on to the rear of the army, 'some' wheeling about in the open space from the flanks, turn most of them off from the camp as they betook themselves to flight in all directions, and, by riding on before, frighten them off from it." *i. e. Pars elati, pars circumvecti,* &c. Such an ellipsis is common where the distributive is omitted in the first clause, and used in the second. So Sall. Jug. c. 31, *incedunt per ora vestra magnificè (pars) sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes.*—So B. 5. c. 21. *Jam in partem prædæ suæ (alios) vocatos deos, alios votis ex urbe suâ evocatos.*—So B. 3. c. 37, *virgis (alii) cædi, alii securi subjici.*—So B. 4. c. 33, *obtruncantur (alii) in ripis, alios in aquam compulsos gurgites ferunt.*—See c. 37. n.—B. 4. c. 33. n.

[71] *Ingenti cæde, prædâ majore.*] *i. e.* The plunder was more considerable than the slaughter

[72] *Accendit.*] Scil. *fama accendit.*

[73] *Excursionibus sufficiendo.*] When this verb is taken transitively, and followed by a dative and accusative, it generally means "to supply, to furnish, to provide," as Virg. Geor. 2. 191, *hic tibi ... sufficiet vites ...* 424, *ipsa satis tellus ... sufficit humorem ...* 436, *illæ pecori frondem, aut pastoribus umbram sufficiunt ...* 365, *aliam ex aliâ generando suffice prolem ...* Æn. 2. 617, *ipse pater Danais viresque secundas sufficit;* according to this, if *excursionibus* be made a dative, the words may be explained thus; "by providing, or furnishing, or preparing them for excursions." Sometimes it is followed by an ablative, and means "to imbue, to die, to season," as Cic. in Hortens. *sufficiunt lanam medicamentis. Ap. Non. ii sanè me medicamentis sufficient.* Virg. Æn. 2. 210, *ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni.* According to this meaning they may be thus explained: "by seasoning them with excursions."

[74] *Certamina et summam totius profecerant spei.*] "And those slight contests had been very beneficial to the sum of their hopes." *Summa* means "the conclusion, the whole, or upshot of a thing;" here, *summa totius spei* means "their hopes with regard to a general and decisive battle."

[75] *Carperent.*] So c. 5, *hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas.*

[76] *Inclinandam.*] "To be turned or decided."

CHAP. LXII.—[77] *Indignitate.*] "By indignation."—See B. 1. c. 40.

[78] *Et trahi ... et perfici.*] "The war can be both spun out (or protracted) advantageously, and brought to a speedy termination," according as we think fit. *Et ... et* here have the same signification as "either ... or;" the conjunctions copulative *et, atque, que* sometimes convey this meaning.—So, Virg. Æn. 10. 707. *Ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis actus aper, multos (vel) vesulus quem pennifer annos defendit, multosque (i. e. vel) palus Laurentia, sylvâ pastus arundineâ.*

[79] *Decerni.*] "That the business should be brought to a decision."

[80] *Prælium fuit.*] "The battle was such, as is fought between two armies who have both a confidence in themselves, one on account of its ancient and constant career of glory, the other lately elevated by its new victory." *Gloriæ* may depend on *causâ* or *nomine,* understood, see c. 56. n.; or it may be explained thus: *alterum exercitum vet. per. q. gloriæ,* "one being an army of old and constant celebrity," and thus the phrase would be similar to *vir bonæ indolis, priscæ fidei, gens magnæ virtutis,* and the like. Let the reader observe, that *ambo* and *duo* are often used by Latin writers for *ambos* and *duos,* as the Greeks used *ἀμφῶ* and *δυῶ* in the accusative.

[81] *Quum æquâssent aciem.*] "When they had drawn up the army in regular line of battle."

[82] *Extra ordinem.*] These words have here, in some measure, the same meaning as *in subsidiis,* "in reserve."

[83] *Verecundiæ erat.*] "It was a shame."

[84] *Ad pedes ... degresso.*] "Dismounted."

CHAP. LXIII.—[85] *Sabinis cornu.*] The dative as usual for the genitive.

[86] *Increpare sicubi segnior pugna esset.*] i. e. *Increpare segnes.* The reader will observe many such peculiarities of style in Livy.

[87] *Malignè.*] "Illiberally."—See B. 2. c. 42.

[88] *Supplicatio studiis prope celebratior.*] "This free and popular thanksgiving was, from their zeal, almost more numerously conducted than the former."—See B. 1. c. 6. n.

[89] *Eodem biduo.*] *i. e.* Within a day of each other. They saw, as the senate did not grant two days of public thanksgiving, one in compliment to each of them, as was usual, that it was probable they would refuse them the honour of a triumph; accordingly they came, by private arrangement, within a day of each other, that both together, at the head of their armies, might the more effectually wrest this honour from them. A general could not enter the city at the head of his army without the senate's permission.

[90] *Prata Flaminia.*] See c. 54.

[91] *Ædis Apollinis.*] See B. 4. c. 25, 29.

[92] *Dissuasum prodeuntibus.*] "Many coming forward to the assembly to give advice to the contrary."

[93] *C. Claudio.*] This was the uncle of Ap. Claudius.

[94] *Gratiam.*] "A requital for their private services to a tribune;" *i. e.* Virginius.

CHAP. LXIV.—[95] *Prope in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit.*] "Turned nearly into pernicious licentiousness."

[96] *Per contumeliam consulum.*] "Through the insult offered to the consuls."—So, c. 59. n. 56. *invidiam consulum.*

[97] *Factiones.*] This word was generally applied to the confederacies formed among the patricians; *partes*, to those formed among the plebeians; *factio*, or *factiones nobilitatis; pars*, or *partes plebis*, are expressions often found in the Latin classics.

[98] *Negaret ullius se rationem habiturum.*] "Who, when he declared that he would take no account of any of the former tribunes, ——;" *i. e.* would admit no vote for them.—See B. 4. c. 7. By this it is seen what power the presiding magistrate had.

[99] *Pugnarentque collegæ, ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret.*] "And when his colleagues fought with him to allow the tribes to vote independently; *i. e.* for whomsoever they pleased. *Pugno*, like *μάχομαι*, is applied to a struggle or contention of any kind, even to verbal bickering; the word "fight" in English, is often used with the same latitude.

[1] *Aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis.*] "Or give up to his colleagues the charge of presiding at the election."

[2] *Injectâ contentione.*] "A contest being thus excited." *Injicere* often means, in Livy, "to excite, to cause, to give," as, *injicere alicui metum, injicere pavorem, fugam, certamen, mutationem, admirationem, ardorem, spem,* and the like.

[3] *Auctores popularis sententiæ, haud populares nactus.*] The text here is undoubtedly wrong; the reading should be, *auctores populares sententiæ haud popularis; i. e.* having got popular supporters (*i. e.* the consuls) of his unpopular measure; namely, his intention not to re-elect the former tribunes.

[4] *Collaudatis consulibus.*] "After he eulogized the consuls because they persevered to the last to be quite the opposite of the decemvirs, ——." *Similis*, as has been already shown, when followed by a genitive, means "the very resemblance or likeness of," and *dissimilis*, "quite contrary to."

[5] *Alii candidati tribus non explerent.*] "When the other candidates (*i. e.* besides the five elected) could not make up the requisite number of tribes, (*i. e.* of votes to elect them,) in consequence of the zeal with which the other nine tribunes (*i. e.* the colleagues of Duilius) openly pressed their canvass, he dismissed the assembly." *Explere centurias* means the same as *explere tribus.* So, B. 37. c. 47. *Fulvius consul unus creatur, cùm cæteri centurias nòn explêssent.*

[6] *Satisfactum legi.*] "That the law was fulfilled." It appears that this is a part of the law quoted, c. 55.

[7] *Ut relinquerentur.*] "Should be left elected—left always in existence and power in the state."

[8] *Carmen.*] See B. 1. c. 26.

[9] *Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo.*] See c. 30. n. 72.—B. 2. c. 33.

[10] *Si quî vos minùs hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis.*] "If you shall have, from any cause, elected less than ten tribunes at that time." *Quî* is sometimes put for the ablative of *qui*, and is of every gender and number; *minùs* as well as *plùs* and *ampliùs* are very often found with an accusative.—*Si quos .... fecerint* is another reading.

[11] *Hi tum uti, quos sibi collegas cooptâssint, ut illi legitimi eâdem lege tribuni plebei sint, ut illi, quos.*] "Then that these, whom they shall have appointed as colleagues to themselves, that these (I say) be legitimate tribunes of the people on the same terms as those whom you shall on that day have elected tribunes of the people." *Cooptâssint* for *cooptaverint*.—So, B. 1. c. 18, *adclarâssis* for *adclaraveris*. *Hi uti .... ut illi;* these mean the same. Livy often uses such redundances and repetitions.—See B. 5. c. 21.—B. 34. c. 3. 56.—B. 45. c. 16, where he repeats *ut;* the demonstrative pronoun is often redundant in Livy.—See B. 1. c. 19, 26, 49, 58.—B. 3. c. 58. *et alibi.*

[12] *Quindecim tribunos.*] *i. e.* The ten tribunes of the preceding year, and the five who were elected this year.

CHAP. LXV.—[13] *Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aterium.*] Their consulship is mentioned, ch. 31.

[14] *Cœlimontanus.*] So called probably from residing in Mount Cœlius. In those days the names of persons were often derived from their residences; such were the names *Esquilinus, Capitolinus, Vaticanus, Aventinensis, &c.*

[15] *Ut, qui plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret.*] See B. 2. c. 56. n. 59 In Latin, verbs of asking and teaching have two accusatives after them, in imitation of the Greeks, one of which, the accusative of the thing, is properly governed by a preposition, *secundùm* or *κατὰ* understood. In English the same peculiarity is observed, as, "he asks him this, he teaches him this," and the like.

[16] *Insectandisque patribus .... tribunatum gessit.*] "And he carried on his tribuneship in attacking the patricians; whence he even got the name of *Asper*."

[17] *Potestati ejus.*] *i. e.* The tribunician power: *caitiones* before, both in this passage and others, was written *conciones* in most of the old copies.

[18] *Sustinendo rem.*] "By deferring the thing:" *i. e.* the levy; for if they pressed it, the people would rise up and refuse to enlist.—See c. 60. n. 59.

[19] *Urbano quoque otio.*] "That on every occasion of tranquillity in the city."

[20] *Externos.*] "The foreign enemies."

[21] *Gravis.*] One party always annoyed or attacked the other in their moderation.

[22] *In primis parum proderat.*] At first the tribunes were not able to be of much service to them, and afterwards, towards the expiration of their office, they were even assailed themselves.

[23] *Nomina tantùm.*] Mere nominal tribunes.—See B. 5. c. 18.—B. 7. c. 29. c. 1.—B. 44. c. 41.

[24] *Adeò moderatio tuendæ libertatis . . . . in difficili est.*] "So difficult is moderation in maintaining liberty, while every one, by pretending that he wishes for equality, &c."

CHAP. LXVI.—[25] *Et tribunis et plebe incitatâ.*] *Incitatâ,* according to the ordinary rules of grammar, should be *incitatis,* to agree with *tribunis* and *plebe;* but participles and adjectives sometimes are put in the same number and gender with the nearest substantive.—See c. 50, n. 59.

[26] *Ad quarum.*] Scil. *concionum. Quorum* scil. *certaminum* would perhaps be a better reading.

[27] *Simul quòd.*] "Also because their leaders, who were anxious for plunder, (and this they expected by invading the Roman territories at a time when the people refused to enlist and defend them,) persuaded them that the levy which was ordered two years before, (rather one year before, this being only the commencement of the second year,) could not be held, as the plebeians now refused to submit to military authority."

[28] *Regione portæ Esquilinæ.*] "In the direction or quarter of the Esquiline gate."

CHAP. LXVII.—[29] *Modò pares.*] "Who were lately scarcely a match for the Hernici."—See c. 5. B. 2. c. 64.

[30] *Ita vivitur.*] "Such is the sort of life we lead; such is the state of things."

[31] *Si alia fuga honoris non esset.*] "If there were no other way of escaping from this honour;" *i. e.* the consulship.

[32] *Si viri arma illa.*] "If men of spirit (*i. e.* brave Romans) had those arms that were brought to our very gates by the insulting foe, could Rome be taken while I was consul?" Livy often uses *vir* to signify a person who was deservedly styled "a man," *i. e.* a man of courage. In English "man" has the same signification.—See c. 50. B. 1. 41, 58, *et alibi.* He glances at the cowardice of the Romans; in order to rouse them the more, he represents the appearance of the enemy at their gates, as a capture of a city itself.

[33] *Satìs superquè vitæ erat.*] "I lived long enough, quite long enough." *Satìs superque satìs* merely means "abundantly sufficient." See c. 53. n. 91, the words cannot mean here "too long," for, if so, he should have died before his third consulship.

[34] *Non illi vestram ignaviam.*] Their invasions did not proceed from any contempt they felt for your courage, or any confidence in their own valour, but from your dissensions, which left a good opportunity open to them.

[35] *Agro mulctati.*] See B. 1. c. 15, this verb properly means, as here, to deprive one of any thing by way of fine or penalty; hence sometimes to punish, from *mulcta,* "a fine"—*sub jugum missi;* see c. 28.

[36] *Hos.*] *i. e.* The patricians.

[37] *Consules facere.*] The commentators say that *voluistis,* out of the last clause, is understood. I think it is not necessary to have recourse to an ellipsis; the passage may be simply explained thus: "though we say it was injurious to the patricians that consuls attached to your party should be elected, yet even that patrician magistracy we beheld with resignation conceded as a boon to the commons."

[38] *Scita plebis injuncta patribus.*] See c. 55. Drakenborch and others make a period point at *patribus,* and make the preceding words depend on *vidimus . . . sub titulo.*—See B. 2. c. 14.

[39] *Aventinum capitur . . . Sacer occupatur mons.*] See c. 50. 52.—B. 2. c. 32.

[40] *Esquilias . . . . captas.*] Scil. *defendit.* Among the best authors in Greek, Latin, and English, a verb is sometimes joined to two clauses, when strictly speaking it agrees only with one of them; the verb that agrees with the other being supplied by the sense.—See B. 1. c. 33. *Janiculum non muro solùm (cingi), sed etiam sublicio ponte conjungi urbi placuit.* So Cic. 10. ad Att. 4, *fortunam, quâ illi florentissimâ (elati), nos duriore conflictati videmur.* Virg. Æn. 9. 236, *Ruluti somno (oppressi) vinoque sepulti.* Hor. B. 3. Od. 4, *ludo fatigatumque somno (oppressum.)* Hom. Il. 10. 98, "καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες, ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ" (δεδμημένοι.) Il. 3. 326.

> "Οἱ μὲν ἔπειθ' ἵζοντο κατὰ στίχας ἧχι ἑκάστῳ
> Ἵπποι ἀερσίποδες (ἵσταντο) καὶ ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο."

[41] *In aggerem.*] This was a mount built by Tarquin the Proud, by which the Esquiline could be ascended.

CHAP. LXVIII.—[42] *Forum infestum feceritis.*] See c. 24. n. 13.

[43] *Visite.*] *Viso* generally means "to visit;" here it means merely "to see."

[44] *At enim communis res per hæc loco est pejore.*] Here Quinctius anticipates an objection that the people might make, that, though the general interests of the state may be injured, yet the interests of private individuals may suffer no loss; but before he states the latter part of the objection, he breaks off with indignant vehemence, and overthrows it in these words: *quid tandem,* &c.

[45] *Reddent ac restituent.*] "Restore you what you lost, and re-establish it in its former security." These words are not purely synonymous here.

[46] *Criminum in principes.*] "Accusations against the nobles."

[47] *Re.*] "In property;" *fortunâ,* in general condition or rank.

[48] *A quibus semper . . . tuti sitis.*] "From the effects of which you have been guarded——." He says that the tribunes were always involving the plebeians with the patricians, that they may always stand in need of their protection.

[49] *Stipendia.*] See c. 27. n. 37. The best writers are fond of applying the words in use in their time to the times of which they are speaking. Thus Homer in the Iliad speaks of trumpets and dexterous horsemen, though there were no such things known at the time of the Trojan war; and Milton speaks of cannon and all the instruments of modern warfare in his description of the battle of the angels.

[50] *Acies.*] This word, derived from ἀκὴ, properly means the "edge" of any thing; hence it means "an army drawn out in even line of battle;" hence "a battle itself;" a cutting edge being the best figurative epithet to apply to the havoc of war. Milton, who has adopted all the metaphors, and idioms, and images of the ancient classics, uses the word in its original sense, Par. Lost, 6. 107;

> ———— ————" before the cloudy van,
> On the rough *edge of battle,* ere it join'd,
> Satan, with vast and haughty strides, advanc'd,
> Came tow'ring, armed in adamant and gold."

Here the host is described as wearing a gloomy aspect, which is thought to contradict a description immediately preceding:

> " Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd,
> From skirt to skirt, *a fiery region,* stretched
> In battailous aspect, and nearer view,
> Bristled with upright *beams* innumerable,
> Of rigid spears, and helmets thronged, and shields
> Various, with boastful argument pourtray'd
> The banded pow'rs of Satan, hasting on
> With furious expedition."———— ————

And, a few lines after, Satan is represented as

> " Enclosed with *flaming cherubim* and *golden* shields."

But there is really no contradiction. The gloom is caused mostly by the dense multitude that cast a shade before it; the roughness, by the bristling or irregular appearance which is expressed by *horresco* in Latin, and φρίσσω in Greek; and the flame, by the

glittering of their burnished arms. The following passages will illustrate this: Paradise regained, B. 3. 326.

> "The field all iron, cast a gleaming brown,
> Nor wanted *clouds of foot*, nor on each horn
> Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight."

Virgil, Æn. 7. 793—525 :

> "Insequitur *nimbus peditum*, clypeataque totis
> Agmina densantur campis."
> *   *   *   *   *   *
> "Sed ferro ancipiti decernunt, *atraque* late
> *Horrescit* strictis seges ensibus, æraque fulgent
> Sole lacessita, et lucem sub nubila jactant."

Homer, Iliad 4, 274.

> "Τὼ δὲ κορυσσέσθην· ἅμα δὲ νέφος εἵπετο πέζων
> Δήϊον ἐς πόλεμον· πυκιναὶ κίνυντο φάλαγγες
> Κυάνεαι, σάκεσίν τε, καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι."

In the description of Satan above given the reader will see a resemblance of that of Ajax advancing like Mars to battle, Iliad 7. 211 :

> "Τοῖος ἄρ Αἴας ὦρτο πελώριος, ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν,
> Μειδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι, νερθὲ δὲ ποσσὶν
> Ἤϊε μακρὰ βιβὰς, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος."

"Shields various," like ποικίλα τεύχη in Homer, and *versicoloribus armis*, in Virgil. "Boastful argument," like *argumentum ingens* ("a proud device, or escutcheon,") Virgil; "on each horn," *i. e.* "on each wing," *cornu;* "the field all iron cast a gleaming brown;" this idea is found in Homer, B. 13. 340 :

> ———————— "ὄσσε δ' ἄμερδεν
> Αὐγὴ χαλκείη κορύθων ἀπολαμπομενάων
> Θωρήκων τε νεοσμήκτων, σακέων τε φαεινῶν
> Ἐρχομένων ἄμυδις."————

I trust I will not be thought to have introduced a frivolous or useless digression in explaining these passages of our great Milton, which have been overlooked or misunderstood by his commentators. And here let me add, that if teachers introduced to their pupils the study of Milton, and the old English poets, the cause of classical literature would be much advanced.

51 *Biennio antè.*] "Though a levy of men was ordered two years ago, yet ever since you continue sunk in spiritless inactivity."

[52] *Etsi meum ingenium non moneret.*] "Even though my disposition should not incline me."

[53] *Malo vos salvos esse, qualicunque erga me animo futuri estis.*] Demosthenes has often a sentiment similar to this and the next.

[54] *Volunt.*] Scil. *magis volunt.*—See c. 40. n. 64.

CHAP. LXIX.—[55] *Detractationem.*] The old copies and manuscripts of Livy indifferently write *detracto* and *detrecto, retracto* and *retrecto, attracto* and *attrecto,* with their derivatives.

[56] *Spectabat.*] "Began to turn their attention to."

[57] *Ut unum vindicem majestatis Romanæ intueri.*] "Looked on him as the only defender of the majesty of the Roman name."

[58] *Orationem memorem majestatis Romanæ.*] See c. 36. n. 26.

[59] *Ut capesserent rempublicam.*] "To assume the management of the republic." So Sall. Bell. C. *expergiscimini aliquando, et rempublicam capessite.* This verb, which is a frequentative of *capio,* means properly "to snatch" or "catch up anxiously, and by repeated efforts;" hence, "to take the management of a thing." Livy often uses the word; as, B. 1. c. 25, *fugam capessit.* B. 2. c. 6, *pugnam capessero.*

[60] *Appellare tribunos communem patriam.*] "That their common country made her appeal to the tribunes." Compare with this passage Cic. Catil. 1. 18.

[61] *Causas cognoscendi.*] "Of examining the excuses for exemption from military service."

[62] *Cohortes sibi quæque centuriones legerunt.*] Generally the centurions were elected by the general, or, with his consent, by the tribunes of the soldiers. A "cohort" consisted of three *manipuli,* one out of each of the three lines.

[63] *In Campum.*] Livy often uses this word to signify the *Campus Martius.*

[64] *Paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus.*] See c. 57. n.

[65] *Castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt conjuncta.*] See c. 66, at the end. The phrases *conferre castra,* and *conjungere castra,* are often used by Livy to signify "to encamp near the enemy."

CHAP. LXX.—[66] *Quod saluberrimum, est ...... summa imperii.*] "The chief command was vested in his colleague, a thing which was most serviceable, &c." The antecedent, as here, sometimes refers to what follows.

[67] *Et prælatus ille.*] "And he, thus raised to a superiority, made a polite return to the condescension of the other, who thus humbled himself."

[68] *In adversam incursando aciem.*] "And in a moment of time, by making a charge on the line in the rear, he would have routed the enemy by the attack on both sides, had not the cavalry of the Æqui and the Volsci kept him engaged in an

attack like his own; "*i. e.* a charge of cavalry.—See B. 4. 27. B. 5. c. 21.

[69] *Interclusos ab suis.*] "Cut off from their friends."—See B. 27. c. 42.—B. 44. c. 7.

[70] *Equitem integrum.*] "Nor was it enough to rout the cavalry without disabling them; they should kill the horses and riders, &c." *Conficere,* like the verbs "to finish" and "despatch," which are its primary significations, often means "to destroy," "to kill." So does κατεργάζομαι, "to finish a work;" so we say in coarse phraseology, "to do one, to do one's business." Here it may not be improper to observe, that very many of those words and phrases that now, in the great revolution that public taste and our language have undergone, bear the stamp of vulgarity, are the translations of classical idioms.

[71] *Permissus equitatus.*] See B. 2. c. 56. n.

[72] *Prædâque ingenti compotem exercitum.*] "The army in possession of great plunder." So Sall. fragm. *neque animo aut linguâ satìs compos.* Ter. Adelph. 3. 2. 12. *Septimium neque animo neque linguâ satìs compotem. Compos scientiæ.* Cic.—*Compos* generally governs a genitive.

[73] *Causa spreti, aut non sperati honoris.*] "The cause either of their disregarding, or not expecting the honour."

[74] *Negatus ab senatu triumphus.*] See c. 63. n.

[75] *Verecundiæ fuit.*] See c. 62. n.

Chap. LXXI.—[76] *Quum ad Coriolos sit bellatum.*] "When they fought at Corioli." This was forty-seven years before this time. *Juvenem* here must be taken in a general and indefinite sense, to signify merely "a young man," according to our use of the words; it cannot signify what it does in its proper signification, "a person from the age of 17 to 46," as Scaptius at that period was about 36, and of the class of *Juvenes.*

[77] *Quonam more.*] *Quonam ore,* "with what face," (which is a phrase often used elsewhere,) is thought a better reading.

Chap. LXXII.—[78] *Circumire tribunos.*] They went about to solicit the tribunes, who, from their influence over the people, were in a great measure the judges of the case. Some commentators think *tribus* would be a better reading.

[79] *In rem suam litem vertendo.*] "By turning the subject of the dispute to their own advantage."

[80] *Etiamsi fas sit.*] "Even though it were lawful for a judge to show a regard to his own interest."

[81] *Hoc socios audire; hoc hostes; quo cum dolore hos? quo cum gaudio illos?*] "With what grief would the one (the allies), with what joy would the other (the enemy) hear it?" Generally *hic* refers to "the latter"—*ille* to "the former" clause; sometimes, as here, this rule is not observed. So, Tacit. Hist. 2. 77, *Acriore hodie disciplinâ victi, quàm victores, agunt, hos (victos) ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit;*

illi (victores) per fastidium et contumaciam hebescunt. Cæsar, Bell. Civil. B. 1. c. 31, *nam neque pudentis suspicari oportet, sibi parum credi ; neque improbos scire, sese timeri ; quod illis* (scil. *improbis) licentiam timor augeat noster, his* (scil. *pudentibus*) *studia deminuat.*—See Cic. Fam. 7. 2.—pro Rosc. 86.—See Sanc. Miner. 2. 9.

[82] *Scaptione hoc, concionali seni.*] "Could they imagine that it is to Scaptius, an old frequenter of public assemblies (and consequently an idler, and silly prattler,) they would ascribe this dishonourable act, and not to the whole body of the people."

[83] *Clarum hac fore imagine Scaptium.*] *i. e.* That this act would serve as an image to ennoble Scaptius hereafter. The images of one's ancestors, as has been observed before, were an evidence of his illustrious birth, because no man, who had not filled a curule office, could have the privilege of setting up his image.

[84] *Populum Romanum quadruplatoris et interceptoris litis alienæ personam laturum.*] "That the Roman people would bear the character of corrupt informers and usurpers of the subject in dispute between others." *Quadruplatores* were certain public informers, so called, either because they obtained as a reward the fourth part *(quartam partem)* of the criminal's effects, or of the fine imposed on him; or because they accused persons, who, upon conviction, were obliged to pay fourfold, *(quadrupli damnabantur,)* such as those guilty of gambling, illegal usury, or the like. The word was sometimes used in a general sense, to signify any persons who intended to promote their interest by any artful or dishonourable means, such as corrupt judges (as perhaps here), false and mercenary accusers or litigants, *calumniatores,* or the like.

[85] *Ut sibi controversiosam adjudicaret rem.*] "To adjudge to himself the property under debate." *Controversiosam* here is a rare word, and used for *controversam,* which is the reading of some copies.

[86] *Haud sanè quicquam bono causæ levatur dedecus judicio.*] "The infamy of the decision is not indeed in any way diminished by the justice of the cause." *Levatur* here is the same as *elevatur,* which is another reading.—See c. 21. n. 84.

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